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BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE

OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

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OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

14041

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PREFACE.

ENGLAND assuredly is at last waking up to the importance of studying her old tongue in all its stages. I cannot otherwise account for the rapid sale of my late book on 'Standard English;' nearly 2,000 copies of this have gone off within four years or so.

In the present work I have embodied whatever of the former book was worth preserving; great additions have been made, since I take notice of about 3,000 English words and phrases. I have had much help from criticism, both in print and by letter. I cannot understand why an author need whimper under the rod of Reviewers. If the criticism be sound, he should be thankful for a chance of improving his book. If the criticism be absurd, he may amuse his readers by inserting it in the notes to his next edition. I have freely availed

myself of this privilege; no harm is done, if all names be suppressed.[1]

I owe much to certain late writers on Philology. I have always had before me Mätzner's English Grammar, which allows hardly one idiom of ours to escape observation; I have sometimes been able to point out an earlier date for new English phrases than is suggested in the German's noble volumes. I have paid much attention to the colossal works, which will make the names of Cleasby and Littré immortal. I have studied our ancient pronunciation under the guidance of Mr. Ellis; it is most important to remark the old sounds of *au* and *oi* in France and England. Dr. Stratmann and Dr. Morris have proved themselves once more the best of leaders. Any one who reads my chapter on French will see the influence that Mr. Freeman ('Norman Conquest,' Vol. V.) has had upon me. He is good enough to say that my former work was of some use to him when he wrote his chapter on

[1] One would-be philologer wrote to correct my false ideas, telling me that English was derived from Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon from Gothic; I forget if he went on to derive Gothic from Sanscrit. This was in the year of grace 1874!

the English language; I am sure that I have repaid myself with usury.

I hold to the venerable saw, 'Old school, good schoôl;' and I have little love for what is called in the cant of our day, 'Neoteristic Individualism.' I let off no fireworks like 'Asyndetic Co-ordination,' or 'Sequacious Diathesis.' I should be heartily ashamed of myself if I thought I had used any word that a twelve-year-old English schoolboy, a reader of Cæsar and Ovid, could not easily understand. Philology is too noble a goddess to be pent up in a narrow shrine, begirt by a small circle of worshippers, who use a Græco-Latin dialect. She should go forth into the highways and hedges, and should speak to man, woman, and child, in a tongue that all can comprehend.

I take my stand half-way between the Purist and the Advocate of new-fangled vulgarity. I like to mark the date of my book, by pointing out the last sweet thing in Penny-a-lining. We have lately heard of the fall of Adrianople; the English correspondents abroad delight in phrases like 'the *débandade* was averted by a *parlementaire*;' writers

at home speak of the *generals* as 'the directing *personnel* of the army!' What would Sir William Napier, twenty years ago, have said to this new jargon?

I advise my readers to mark my list of *errata*, at the end of the Contents, before studying my book. Any suggestions or corrections may be forwarded to me at

Charlton House,
Wimbledon.

I hope to bring out my work on the New English three or four years hence.

ROME:
February, 1878.

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Errata.

Page 44, line 5; for *Bœthius* read *Boethius.*
„ 105, „ 14; for *Sunnadæg* read *Sunnandæg.*
„ 130, „ 19; for *sæhealfe* read *sæ healfe.*
„ 165, „ 17; for *the Alfred's* read *Alfred's gh.*
„ 194, „ 3; strike out the sentence beginning with *So.*
„ 250, „ 3; strike out *for the first time.*
„ 315, „ 1; for 138 read 303.
„ 337, „ 5; for *one* read *once.*
„ 374, „ 13; for *sel iasse* read *seli asse.*
„ 442, „ 12; for *Past* read *Passive.*
„ 535, Notes, last line but one; transfer *of* from the end to the beginning of this line.

THE

OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLISH IN ITS EARLIEST SHAPE.[1]

THERE are many places, scattered over the world, that are hallowed ground in the eyes of Englishmen; but the most sacred of all would be the spot (could we only know it) where our forefathers dwelt in common with the ancestors of the Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Latins, Slavonians, and Celts—a spot not far from the Oxus. By the unmistakable witness of language we can frame for ourselves a pedigree more truthful than any heraldic tree boasted by Veres or Montmorencies, by Guzmans or Colonnas. Thanks to the same evidence, we can gain some insight into the daily life of the great Aryan family, whence spring all the above-named nations.

The word '*Arya*' seems to come from a time-honoured term for ploughing, traces of which term are found in the Latin *arare* and the English *ear*. Some have thought that Iran in the East and Erin in the West alike take

[1] Gibbon begins his famous chapter on Mohammed by confessing his ignorance of Arabic; even so, I must acknowledge that all my Sanscrit comes from Dr. Morris and Mr. Muir.

their names from the old Aryans, the 'ploughing' folk, men more civilised than the roving Tartar hordes around them.

These tillers of the ground 'knew the arts of ploughing, of making roads, of building ships, of weaving and sewing, of erecting houses; they had counted at least as far as one hundred. They had domesticated the most important animals, the cow, the horse, the sheep, the dog; they were acquainted with the most useful metals, and armed with hatchets, whether for peaceful or warlike purposes. They had recognised the bonds of blood and the laws of marriage; they followed their leaders and kings; and the distinction between right and wrong was fixed by customs and laws.'[1] As to their God, traces of him are found in the Sanscrit *Dyaus*, in the Latin *Dies-piter*, in the Greek *Zeus*, in the English *Tiw*; from this last comes our *Tuesday*. Moreover, the Aryans had a settled framework of grammar: theirs was that Mother Speech, whence nearly all the men dwelling between the Shannon and the Ganges inherit the words used in daily life.[2]

The Sanscrit and the English are two out of the many channels that have brought the water from the old Aryan well-head down to our days. The Sanscrit language, having been set down in writing two thousand years before the earliest English, shows us far more of the great Mother Speech than our own tongue does. I now print a hundred and thirty words or so, the oldest

[1] Max Müller, *Science of Language*, I. 273.

[2] The Turks and Magyars are the chief exceptions to the rule.

used by us, which vary but slightly in their Eastern and Western shapes. How the one-syllabled roots first arose, no man can say.

Sanscrit.	*English (Old and New).*
pitar	father
mâtar	mother
bhrâtar	brother
svasar	sister
sûnu	son
duhitar	daughter
vidhavâ	widow
jani (*woman*)	cwên, quean
râjan	rica (*king*)
hṛidaya	heart
kapala	heafod, head
akshi	eage, eye
nâsâ	nose
bhru	brow
dat, dantam	(tontha) tooth
hănu	cine, chin
nakha	nægel, nail
pâda	foot
jânu	cneo, knee
nâbhi	navel
ûdhas	udder
yuga	yoke
go (*ox*)	cû, cow
ukshan	ox
sthûra (*bull*)	steer
avi	ewe
sûkara (*hog*)	sugu, sow
vṛika	wolf
mûsha	mûs, mouse
hañsa (*goose*)	gander
makshikâ	midge
divâ	by day
naktam	by night
mâsa	mouth

Sanscrit.	*English (Old and New).*
târa	star
ajra (*field*)	acre
dru	tree
madhu	meodu, mead
dama (*house*)	tim-ber
dvâr	door
aritra	âr, oar
kalama	haulm
yuvan	young man
laghu	light
laghishṭa	lightest
mahân (*great*)	mycel, much
mahîyân	mâr, more
mañhishṭha	mæst, most
mṛidu (*soft*)	mild
tanu	thin
rudhira	red
gharma	warm
pûrṇa	full
sama (*like*)	same
sthira (*firm*)	stern
nava	new
madhya	middle
svâdu	sweet
kâs (*to cough*)	hâs, hoarse
satya	sooth, true
patatri (*winged*)	feathered
dvi	two
dvis	twice
trayas	three
tritîyas	third
tris	thrice
chatvâras	fether, four

Sanscrit.	*English (Old and New).*	*Sanscrit.*	*English (Old and New).*
panchan	(finf) five	prî (*love*)	fri-end
shashṭhas	sixth	smi	smile
saptan	(seoftan) seven	mikshâmi	I mix
navan	nine	bhid (*cleave*)	bite
daśan	(tehun) ten	lu	loose
prathamas	forma, first	snu (*flow*)	snivel
ăhăm	Ih, I	tṛish	thirst
văyăm	we	vaksh	wax
tvăm	thu, thou	sîdâmi	I sit
yûyam	ye	sadas	seat
kas	(hwâs) hwâ, who	dam	tame
		plu	flow
kad	huæt, what	man (*think*)	to mind
kataras	whether	manas	mind
kûtra	whither	vam	wamble
tatra	thither	svid	to sweat
ubha	both	svêda	sweat
bhû	be	vart (*turn*)	weorþan [1]
asti	is	hval (*shake*)	hweol, wheel
dhâ (*place*)	do	mṛi	murder
dar	tear	vid	to wit
sthâ	stand	vap	weave
star	strew	siv	sew
bhar	bear	(bhranj) bhanj	break
lih	lick	(bhruj) bhuj	brook
jan (*beget*)	cennan, kindle	jîv	quicken
janus	kin	mâ	mete
janaka (*father*)	cyning, king	bandh	bind
jnâ	know	bhrâj (*shine*)	bright
nâman	name	sthag	thatch
ad	eat	skhad	shed
vah (*carry*)	weigh (anchor)	pû (*be putrid*)	fûl, foul
vâ (*blow*)	wind	stigh (*mount*)	stîg-râp, stirrup
bhuj	bûgan, bow	an	in
dhû (*blow*)	dust	apa	off
dhrish	dare	abhi	by

[1] As in *woe worth the day!*

Sanscrit.	*English (Old and New).*	*Sanscrit.*	*English (Old and New).*
upari	over	pra	fore
upa	ufa, above	na	ne, no
ud	ût, out	nûnan	nû, now[1]
tiras (*across*)	through		

The greatest of all mistakes is, to think that English is *derived* from Sanscrit. The absurdity of this notion may be perceived from the fact, that the most untaught English ploughboy of our time in many respects comes nearer to the old Mother Speech than the most learned Brahmin did, who wrote three thousand years ago.

Unhappily, we English have been busy, for the last four thousand years, clipping and paring down our inflections, until very few of them are left to us. Of all Europeans, we have been the greatest sinners in this way. Well said the sage of old, that words are like regiments: they are apt to lose a few stragglers on a long march. Still, we can trace a few inflections, that are common to us and to our kinsmen who compiled the Vedas.

In Substantives, we have the Genitive Singular and the Nominative Plural left. It will be seen that English, in respect of the latter case, comes nearer to the Mother Speech than German does.

	Sanscrit.	*Old English.*	*New English.*
Nom. Sing.	Vṛika-s	Wulf	Wolf
Gen. Sing.	Vṛika-sya	Wulfes	Wolf's
Nom. Plur.	Vṛikâ-s	Wulfâs	Wolves

[1] The English *bishop* and the French *evêque*, two very modern forms of the same word, are much wider apart from each other than the hoary words in the long list given above.

I give a few Suffixes, common to Sanscrit and English forms of the same root:—

Ma; as from the root *jnâ*, know, we get the Sanscrit *nâman* and the English *nama*, *name*.

Ra; as from the root *aj*, go, we get the Sanscrit *ajra* and the English *acre*.

Nu; as from the root *su*, bear, we get the Sanscrit *sunu* and the English *sunu*, *son*.

Der; as from the root *pa*, feed, we get the Sanscrit *pi-tar* and the English *fœ-der*, *father*.

U; as the Sanscrit *madhu* (honey) is the English *meodu* (mead). Compare our *scádu* (shadow), *seonu* (sinew).

Our word *silvern* must once have been pronounced as *silfre-nas*, (the Gothic *silubr-ei-n-s*), having the suffix *na* in common with the Sanscrit *phal-i-na-s*.

We may wonder why *vixen* is the feminine of *fox*, *carline* of *carle*. Turning to our Sanscrit and Latin cousins, we find that their words for *queen* are *râj-nî* and *reg-ina*, coming from the root *râj*. Still, in these last, the *n* is possessive; the vowel at the end is the mark of the feminine.

What is the meaning of *ward* in such a word as *heaven-ward*? I answer, to *turn* is *vart* in Sanscrit, *vertere* in Latin.

There is no ending that seems to us more thoroughly Teutonic than the *like* in such words as *workmanlike*. But this is seen under a slightly differing shape in the Sanscrit *ta-dṛksha*, in the Greek *te-lik-os*, and the Latin *ta-lis*. These words answer to our old *þýlic*, which survives as *thick* or *thuck* in the mouths of Somersetshire

peasants. So in Old English we find *swȳ-lic* corrupted by us first into *swylc*, and then into *such*.

Our privative *un* is seen in the Sanscrit *an*, as *an-anta-s*, *un-end-ing*.

The Sanscrit *ka-s*, *kâ*, *ka-t* appears in Latin as *quis*, *quæ*, *quid*, and in English as *hwâ*, *hwâ*, *hwæt* (who, what).

The Numerals, up to a hundred, are much the same in Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and English.

In the Comparison of our Adjectives, we have much in common with Sanscrit. There was a Comparative suffix *îyaṁs*, a Superlative *ishṭha*.

	Sanscrit.	*English.*
Theme	Mah (*great*)	Mic-el, *much*
Compar.	mah-î-jas	mâ-r-a, *more*
Superl.	mah-ishṭha	mê-st, *most*

So *svâdu* (sweet) becomes *svâdîya*, *svâdishṭha*, (sweeter, sweetest).

The old Comparatives were formed in *ra*, *tara*, the Superlatives in *ma*, *tama*. We have, as relics of the Comparative, *other*, *whether*, *after*; also, *over*, *under*.

Of the old Superlatives we have but one left:

Positive.	*Comparative.*	*Superlative.*
foreweard	fyrra	for-ma

But this *forma* we have degraded into a Comparative, and now call it *former*. It is, in truth, akin to the Sanscrit *pra-tha-ma* and the Latin *pri-mus*. Long before the Norman Conquest, we corrupted our old Aryan Superlatives in *ma* into *mest*, thinking that they must have some connection with *mæst*, *most*. Thus we find

both *ûtema* and *ûtmest*, *utmost*. Our word *aftermost*, if written at full length, would be *af-ta-ra-ma-yans-ta*, a heaping up of signs to express Comparison.

In our Pronouns, we had a Dual as well as a Singular and Plural; it lasted down to the year 1280.

In our Adverbs, we find traces of the Sanscrit *s*, with which the old Genitive was formed. Hence comes such a form as 'he must *needs* go,' which carries us back, far beyond the age of written English, to the Sanscrit adverb formed from the Genitive. Even in the earliest English, the Genitive of *néd* was *néde*, and nothing more. In later times we say, 'of a truth, of course,' &c., which are imitations of the old Adverbial Genitive.

We have not many inflections left in the English Verb. The old form in *mi*, once common to English, Sanscrit, and other dialects, has long dropped; our word *am* (in Sanscrit *asmi*) is now its only representative. It is thought that the old Present ran as shown in the following specimen:—

Root *nam*, take:[1]

1. nama-mi	. .	. 1*st Per.* ma, *me.*
2. nama-si	. .	. 2*nd Per.* ta, *thou.*
3. nama-ti	. .	. 3*rd Per.* ta, *this, he.*
4. nama-masi	. .	. 1*st Per.* ma + ta, *I + thou.*
5. nama-tasi	. .	. 2*nd Per.* ta + ta, *thou + thou.*
6. nama-nti	. .	. 3*rd Per.* an + ta, *he + he.*

The Perfect of this verb must have been *na-nam-ma*, in its second syllable lengthening the first vowel of the Present; in other words, forming what is called in English a Strong Verb. *Sîd-âmi* in Sanscrit has *sa-sâd-a*

[1] Hence comes 'to numb' and 'Corporal Nym.'

for its Perfect, words of which we have clipped forms in I *sit* and I *sat*. I *hight* (once *hêhât*), from *hâtan*, and I *did* (once *dide*), are the only English Perfects that have kept any trace of their reduplication, and the former is our one relic of the Passive voice. The Imperative in Sanscrit was, in the Singular, *nama*, in the Plural, *namata*, answering to the Old English *nim* and *nimath*. One verbal noun, used as an Infinitive in the Dative case, was *nam-ana* (the Greek *nem-enai*), which we had pared down into *nim-an* more than a thousand years ago. The Active Participle was *nama-nt*, which runs through most of the daughters of the Aryan Tongue, and which kept its ground in the Scotch Lowlands until of late years, as '*ridand*' instead of our corrupt word '*riding*.' The Sanscrit and English alike have both Strong and Weak Passive Participles; the former ending in *na*, the latter in *ta*, as *stir-ṇa*, *strew-n*.[1]

Sanscrit, *yuk-ta*
Greek, *zeuk-tos*
Latin, *junc-tus*
English, *yok-ed* (in Lowland Scotch, *yok-it*).

Those who choose to write *I was stopt* instead of *stopped*, may justify their spelling by a reference to the first three forms given above. But this form, though admissible in the Passive Participle, is clearly wrong in the Active Perfect, I *stopped*, as we shall see further on.[2]

In the Aryan Speech there were a few Verbs which

[1] Few Sanscrit verbs have this form, so common in English.

[2] Archdeacon Hare always spelt *preached* as *preacht*. Still, it is the English *th*, not *t*, that should answer to the Sanscrit *t*.

had lost their Presents, and which used their old Perfects as Presents, forming for themselves new Weak Perfects. I give a specimen of one of these old Perfects, found both in Sanscrit and English.

Sanscrit.	*Old English.*	*New English.*
vêd-a	wât	I wot
vêt-tha	wâs-t	Thou wottest
vêd-a	wât	He wots
vid-ma	wit-o-n	We wot
vid-a	wit-o-n	Ye wot
vid-us	wit-o-n	They wot

It is easy to see that, thousands of years before Christ's birth, our forefathers must have used a Present tense, like *wit* or *vid*. Our verbs, *may*, *can*, *shall*, *will*, *must*, *dare* (most of which we use, with their new Perfects, as auxiliary verbs), have been formed like *wot*, and are Irregulars.

Our verb *to be* is most irregular, since its tenses come from three roots, *as*, *bhu*, and *vas*. One of the points, in which English goes nearer than Sanscrit to the Mother Speech, is the first letter of the Third Person Plural of this verb. We still say *are*, the old *ar-anti* or *as-anti*; in Sanscrit this word appears only as *s-anti*. The Germans have no form of our *am*, the Sanscrit *asmi*.

The old word, which in Sanscrit is *da-dhâ-mi*, with its Perfect, *da-dhâu*, was brought to the Northumbrian shores by our Pagan forefathers in the shape of *ge-dô-m*, *di-de*. Hence our irregular *do*, *did*, the latter of which plays a great part in building Weak Teutonic verbs.

With our verb *ga* (*go*), we may compare the Sanscrit *ji-gâ-mi*; its Perfect is derived from another verb;

we now say *went*, instead of the old *eôde*, which Spenser used; this came from a root *i*. The Lowland Scotch have a corrupt Perfect, *gaed*, which has been long in use.

Some of the compounds of our English verbs carry us far back. Thus, to explain the meaning of the first syllable in such words as *forlorn*, *fordone*, we must look to the Sanscrit *parâ*.

The Aryan settlement on the banks of the Oxus was in the end broken up. First, the Celt marched towards the setting sun, to hold the Western lands of Europe, and to root out the old Turanian owners of the ground; of these last, the Basques and Lapps alone remain in being. Hundreds of years later the English, with other tribes (they had not yet learnt to count up to a thousand), followed in the Celt's wake, leaving behind them those of their kinsmen who were afterwards to conquer India and Persia, to compile the Vedas, and to leave their handwriting on the rock of Behistûn.[1] Some streams flowed to the West of the great watershed, others to the East.

Many tokens show that the English must have long lived in common with the forefathers of Homer and Nævius. The ending of the Greek word *paid-ion* is the counterpart of that of the English *maid-en*; *paid-isk-os* of *cild-isc*, *childish*.[2] Latin is still nearer akin to us, and sometimes hardly a letter is changed; as when we compare *alias* and *else*. *Dom-unculus* appears in Old English as *hus-incle*. The Latin *fer* and the Old English *bære*,

[1] The old Persian word *yâre* is the English *year*.

[2] Sophocles' high-sounding πωλοδαμνεῖν would be our *to foal-tame*, if we chose to compound a word closely akin to Greek.

in truth the same word, are attached to substantives, which are thus changed into adjectives. *Vig-il* and the Old English *wac-ol* (wakeful) are but different forms of one word; and *wittol* still remains. The Latin *malva* is our *mallow*; and the likeness was still more striking before we corrupted the old ending *u* into *ow*. *Aici* and *ævum* are the Gothic *âiw*, the English *aye* and *ever*. Latin and English alike slipped the letter *n* into the middle of a verb before *g*, as *frango* or *frag*, and *gang* or *gag*. The Latin Future tense cannot be explained by Latin words alone; but, on turning to English, we at once see that *doma-bo* is nothing but our *tame-be*; that is, *I be to tame*, or *I shall tame*. So likewise with *ara-bo*, or *I ear be*.[1] English sometimes shows itself more primitive than Latin; thus, our *knot* has never lost its first letter, while *gnodus* was shortened into *nodus* thousands of years ago. It is the same with *know* and *gnosco*.

But all the Teutonic tribes have traces left of their nearness of kin to the Slavonians and Lithuanians, who seem to have been the last of the Aryan stock from whom we Teutons separated. We have seen that, when living in Asia, we were unable to count up to a thousand. The Sanscrit for this numeral is *sahasra*, the Latin *mille*. The Slavonians made it *tusantja*, the Lithuanians *tukstanti*, and with this the whole Teutonic kindred closely agrees. Further, it seems strange at first sight that we have not framed those two of our numerals that follow *ten* in some such shape as *ân-tjne*

[1] The verb *ear* is happily preserved in Shakespeare, and in the English Bible. It is one of the first words that ought to be revived by our best writers, who should remember their Ar-yan blood.

and *twâ-tĵne*, since we go on to *preô-tĵne*, *thirteen*. The explanation is, that the Lithuanian *lika* answers to the Teutonic *tihan*, *ten*; the *ka* at the end of the former word changes to *fa*; just as the Primitive Aryan *katvar* changes to the Gothic *fidwor* (our *four*), and the Latin *cado* to our *fall*. If *lifan* then take the place of the common Teutonic *tihan*, *ân-lifan* and *twâ-lifan* (eleven and twelve) are easily framed. These Eastern kinsmen of ours had also, like ourselves and unlike the rest of the Aryan stock, both a Definite and an Indefinite form of the Adjective.

But the time came when our fathers left off hunting the auroch in the forests to the East of the Vistula, bade farewell to their Lithuanian cousins (one of the most interesting of all the branches of the Aryan tree), and marched Westward, as the Celts had done long before. Up to this time, we may fairly guess, we had kept our verbs in *mi*. It cannot be known when the great Teutonic race was split up into High Germans, Low Germans, and Scandinavians. Hard is it to explain why each of them stuck to peculiar old forms; why the High Germans should have kept the Present Plural of their Verb (a point in which Old English fails woefully), almost as it is in Sanscrit and Latin; why the Low Germans (this term includes the Goths and English) should in general have clung closer to the old inflections than their brethren did, and should have refused to corrupt the letter *t* into *s*;[1] why the Scandinavians should have

[1] Compare the Sanscrit *svêda*, English *sweat*, High German *schweiss*. English is at once seen to be far more primitive than German.

retained to this day a Passive Voice. I can here do no less than give a substantive and a verb, to show how our brethren (I may now at last drop the word *cousins*), formed their inflections.

THE SUBSTANTIVE *Wolf.*

	Old English.	*Gothic.*	*Old High German.*	*Old Norse.*
		SINGULAR.		
Nom.	wulf	wulfs	wulf	ulfr
Gen.	wulfes	wulfis	wulfes	ulfs
Dat.	wulfe	wulfa	wulfa	ulfi
Acc.	wulf	wulf	wulf	ulf
		PLURAL.		
Nom.	wulfas	wulfos	wulfa	ulfar
Gen.	wulfa	wulfe	wulfo	ulfa
Dat.	wulfum	wulfam	wulfum	ulfum
Acc.	wulfas	wulfans	wulfa	ulfa

PRESENT TENSE OF THE VERB *niman,* to take; whence comes our *numb.*

Old English.	*Gothic.*	*Old High German.*	*Old Norse.*
Ic nime	nima	nimu	nem
þu nimest	nimis	nimis	nemr
he nimeð	nimiþ	nimit	nemr
we nimað	nimam	nemames	nemum
ge nimað	nimiþ	nemat	nemið
hi nimað	nimand	nemant	nema

All these Teutonic tribes must have easily understood each other, about the time of Christ's birth; since, hundreds of years after that event, they were using the

above-cited inflections. They had by this time wandered far from the old Aryan framework of speech. Thus, to take one instance—the Dative Plural in *um*; the Sanscrit Nominative *sunu* formed its Dative Plural in *sunu-bhjas* (compare the Latin *ped-ibus*),[1] our English word *by* entering into the third syllable. *Sunubhjas* was in time pared down in Teutonic mouths to *sunub*, and this again to *sunum*. This last corruption of the dative kept its ground in our island until Becket's time. The tendency of old, when we dwelt on the Oxus, and long afterwards, was to pack different words into one; our custom, ever since the days of Henry I., has been to untie the words so packed together; thus *sunubhjas* has been turned into *by sons*.[2] We have two of these old Datives still left, *hwil-um*, whilom, and *seld-um*, seldom.

We keep to this day many prefixes to verbs (*a*, *be*, *for*, *fore*, *gain*, *mis*, *un*, *with*), and many endings of substantives and adjectives, common to us and to our brethren on the mainland; seen in such English words as *leech-craft*, *man-kind*, *king-dom*, *maiden-head*, *sister-hood*, *wed-lock*, *gar-lick*, *glee-man*, *piece-meal*, *runn-el*, *kind-red*, *bishop-rick*, *friend-ship*, *land-scape*, *horn-et*, *dar-ling*,

[1] *Pedibus* is but the Latin form of the Sanscrit *padbhyas*.

[2] I hope I have been plainer than Miss Cornelia Blimber, who told her small pupil that Analysis is 'the resolution of an object, whether of the senses or of the intellect, into its first elements—as opposed to Synthesis, you observe. *Now* you know what Analysis is, Dombey.' It is remarked that Dombey didn't seem to be absolutely blinded by the light thus let in upon his intellect. Many of our grammars and school-books, meant for children, have formed their diction upon Miss Blimber's phrases.

sing-er, spin-ster, warn-ing, good-ness, stead-fast, mani-fold, stân-ig (stony), *aw-ful, god-less, win-some, right-wis* (righteous). Others, older still, such as *silv-ern, vix-en, workman-like, child-ish, witt-ol, mall-ow,* I have given before. Many old Teutonic endings have unhappily dropped out of our speech, and have been replaced by meaner ware.

The Teutons, after turning their backs on the rest of their Aryan kin, compounded for themselves a new Perfect of the verb, known as the Weak form. The older Strong Perfect is formed by changing the vowel of the Present, as I *sit*, I *sat*, common to English and Sanscrit. But the new Perfect of the Teutons is formed by adding *di-de* (in Sanscrit, *da-dhâu*) to the stem. Thus, *sealf-ie*, I salve, becomes in the Perfect, *sealfo-de*, the *de* being contracted from *dide*. When we say, I *loved*, it is like saying, I *love did*. This comes out much plainer in our Gothic sister.[1]

Another peculiarity of the Teutons was the use of the dark Runes, still found engraven on stone, both in our island and on the mainland: these were in later times proscribed by Christianity as the handmaids of witchcraft.

The Celts were roughly driven out of their old abodes, on the banks of the Upper Danube and elsewhere, by the intruding Teutons. The former were far the more civilised of the two races: they have left in their word *hall* an abiding trace of their settlement in Bavaria, and of their management of *salt*-works. The simple word

[1] The Latins set Prepositions before *dhâ* and *dadhâu*, and thus formed *abdo, abdidi; condo, condidi; perdo, perdidi*. This last is nothing but the English I *for-do* (ruin), I *for-did*.

leather is thought by good judges to have been borrowed from the Celts by their Eastern neighbours.[1]

Others suffered besides the Celts. A hundred years before Christ's birth, the Teutons forced their way into Italy, but were overthrown by her rugged champion Marius. Rather later, they matched themselves against Cæsar in Gaul, and felt the heavy hand of Drusus. The two races, the Latin and the Teutonic, (neither of them dreamed that they were both sprung from a common Mother), were now brought fairly face to face. Our forefathers, let us hope, bore their share in the great fight, when the German hero smote Varus and his legions; we English should think less of Caractacus and Boadicea, more of Arminius and Velleda. Hitherto we have puzzled out our history from the words used by ourselves and our kin, without help from annalists; now at length the clouds roll away, and Tacitus shows us the Angli, sheltered by their forests and rivers, the men who worshipped Mother Earth, in her own sea-girt island, not far from the Elbe. Little did the great historian guess of the future that lay before the barbarians, whom he held up to his worthless countrymen with so skilful a pen. Some of these Teutonic tribes were to take the place of Rome and become the lords of her Empire, to bear her Eagle and boast her titles; others of them, later in the world's history, were to rule more millions of subjects than Rome could ever claim, and were to found new empires on shores to her unknown. She had indeed done great things in law and literature; but her Senate might well have learned a lesson of public spirit from

[1] Garnett's *Essays*, pp. 150, 167.

the assemblies held by these barbarians, assemblies to which we can trace a likeness in the later councils held in Wessex, Friesland, Uri, Norway. Rome's most renowned poets were to be outdone by Teuton Makers, men who would soar aloft upon bolder wing into the Unseen and the Unknown, and who would paint the passions of mankind in more lifelike hues than any Latin writer ever essayed.

But among the many good qualities of ourselves and our kinsmen, tender care for conquered foes has seldom been reckoned; Western Celt and Eastern Slavonian know this full well. Hard times were at hand; the old worn-out Empire of Rome was to receive fresh life-blood from the healthy Teutons. In the Fifth Century, our brethren overran Spain, Gaul, and Italy; becoming lords of the soil, and overlaying with their own words the old Latin dialects spoken in those provinces. To this time belongs the Beowulf, which is to us English (may I not say, to all Teutons?) what the Iliad was to the Greeks. The old Epic, written on the mainland, sets before us the doughty deeds of an Englishman, before his tribe had come to Britain. There is an unmistakable Pagan ring about the poem; and a Christian transcriber, hundreds of years afterwards, has sought to soften down this spirit, which runs through the recital of the feats of Ecgtheow's bairn.

In the same age as the Beowulf were written the Battle of Finsborough and the Traveller's Song. In the latter, Attila, Hermanric, and the wealthy Cæsar are all mentioned. Pity it is that we have not these lays in their oldest form, in the English spoken not long after the first great Teutonic writer had given the Scriptures to his Gothic countrymen in their own tongue.

The island of Britain was now no longer to be left in the hands of degenerate Celts; happier than Crete or Sicily, it was to become the cradle where a great people might be compounded of more than one blood. Bede, writing many years later, tells us how the Jutes settled themselves in Kent and Wight; how the Saxons fastened upon Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; how the Angles, coming from Anglen (the true Old England), founded the three mighty kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, holding the whole of the coast between Stirling and Ipswich. It is with this last tribe that I am mainly concerned in this work. Fearful must have been the woes undergone by the Celts at the hands of the ruthless English heathen, men of blood and iron with a vengeance. So thoroughly was the work of extermination done, that but few Celtic words have been admitted to the right of English citizenship. The few that we have seem to show that the Celtic women were kept as slaves, while their husbands, the old owners of the land, were slaughtered in heaps. Garnett gives a list of nearly two hundred of these words, many of which belong to household management; and others, such as *spree*, *bam*, *whop*, *balderdash*, &c., can scarcely be reckoned classical English.

Old Britain was by degrees swept away, after much hard fighting; and the history of New England at length begins; her birth-throes were far sharper than anything known in Spain, Gaul, or Italy.

Amid the shouts of the slayers and the groans of the slain, let us keep a steady eye upon the years 571 and 577, as recorded in the Chronicle. We there read of

the Wessex Princes winning their way to Bedford and Gloucester; they seem to have been the first Teutons who bore their arms into Salop. This fact must be kept in mind, when we come afterwards to treat of the limits of English dialects. The South-West of Mercia (to use a name that arose rather later) was first settled by Western Saxons, though it was afterwards mastered by the Angles of the Midland. It is curious that the Danes, coming much later, never settled in any of the shires conquered by the Saxons, with the one exception of Essex; the Scandinavian scourge came down almost wholly upon the Angles.

Christianity, overspreading the land in the Seventh Century, did much to lighten the woes of the down-trodden Celts: a wonderful difference there was between the Christian conquest of Somerset and the Pagan conquest of Sussex. The new creed brought in its train scores of Latin words, such as *candle*, *altar*, *bishop*, &c., which have been employed by us ever since the Kentish King's baptism. The Church in other lands scorned the popular speech; such broken Latin as the Hymn of St. Eulalie in France (about the year 900), seemed to be a caricature of the language of the 'Te Deum.' But with us the Church made English her handmaid; our greatest men translated the Bible or compiled Homilies in their own tongue.

At this point I halt, finding no better opportunity for setting forth the grammar employed by our forefathers, traces of which, mangled as it is by the wear and tear of centuries, may still be found.

SUBSTANTIVES.

DIVISION I.

CLASS I.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	Steorra	Tunge	Eáge
Gen.	Steorran	Tungan	Eágan
Dat.	Steorran	Tungan	Eágan
Acc.	Steorran	Tungan	Eáge

PLURAL.

Nom. Acc.	Steorran	Tungan	Eágan
Gen.	Steorrena	Tungena	Eágena
Dat.	Steorrum	Tungum	Eágum

CLASS II.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Sáwel	*Nom.*	Sáwla
Gen.	Sáwle	*Gen.*	Sáwla, sawlena
Dat. Acc.	Sáwle	*Dat.*	Sáwlum
		Acc.	Sáwla

CLASS III.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Duru	*Nom.*	Dura
Gen.	Dure	*Gen.*	Dura (durena)
Dat.	Dure	*Dat.*	Durum
Acc.	Dura	*Acc.*	Dura

DIVISION II.

CLASS I.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom. } *Acc.* }	Hors	*Nom.* } *Acc.* }	Hors
Gen.	Horses	*Gen.*	Horsa
Dat.	Horse	*Dat.*	Horsum

CLASS II.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom. } *Acc.* }	Scip	*Nom.* } *Acc.* }	Scipu
Gen.	Scipes	*Gen.*	Scipa
Dat.	Scipe	*Dat.*	Scipum

DIVISION III.

CLASS I.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom. } *Acc.* }	Dæl	*Nom.* } *Acc.* }	Dælas
Gen.	Dæles	*Gen.*	Dæla
Dat.	Dæle	*Dat.*	Dælum

CLASS II.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom. } *Acc.* }	Sunu	*Nom.* } *Acc.* }	Suna
Gen.	Suna	*Gen.*	Suna
Dat.	Suna	*Dat.*	Sunum

We have still a few Plurals left, formed by vowel-change from the Singular. These are *feet, teeth, mice, lice, geese, men.* Some Substantives, as *deer, sheep, swine,* are the same in both numbers. *Oxen* is our one Plural in *en* that has come down from very early times.

ADJECTIVES.

DEFINITE DECLENSION.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	Góda	Góde	Góde
Gen.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan
Dat.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan
Acc.	Gódan	Gódan	Góde

PLURAL.

Nom. } *Acc.* }	Gódan
Gen.	Gódena
Dat.	Gódum

INDEFINITE DECLENSION.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	Gód	Gód	Gód
Gen.	Gódes	Gódre	Gódes
Dat.	Gódum	Godre	Godum
Acc.	Gódne	Góde	God

PLURAL.

	Masc. and *Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom. *Acc.*	Góde	Gód(u)
Gen.	Gódra	Gódra
Dat.	Gódum	Gódum

DEMONSTRATIVES.

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.	
	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*		
Nom.	se	seo	þæt	*Nom.* *Acc.*	þa
Gen.	þæs	þâre	þæs	*Gen.*	þâra
Dat.	þam	þâre	þam	*Dat.*	þâm
Acc.	þone	þâ	þæt		
Abl.	þŷ	þŷ	þŷ		

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.	
	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*		
Nom.	þes	þeôs	þis	*Nom.* *Acc.*	þâs
Gen.	þises	þisse	þises	*Gen.*	þissa
Dat.	þisum	þisse	þisum	*Dat.*	þisum
Acc.	þisne	þâs	þis		

PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.			DUAL.		
Nom.	Ic	þu	*Nom.*	wit	git
Gen.	mîn	þîn	*Gen.*	uncer	incer
Dat. *Acc.*	me	þe	*Dat.* *Acc.*	unc	inc

	PLURAL.	
Nom.	we	ge
Gen.	ûre	eówer
Dat. *Acc.*	ûs	eôw

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.	
	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*		
Nom.	he	heô	hit	*Nom.* *Acc.*	hî
Gen.	his	hire	his	*Gen.*	hira
Dat.	him	hire	him	*Dat.*	him
Acc.	hine	hi	hit		

	Masc. and *Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	hwâ	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	hwæs
Dat.	hwam	hwam
Acc.	hwone	hwæt
Abl.	hwŷ	hwŷ

THE STRONG VERB.

(Infinitive, *healdan.*)

INDICATIVE.

PRESENT.		PERFECT.	
Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
healde	healdað	heôld	heôldon
hylst	healdað	heôlde	heôldon
hylt	healdað	heôld	heôldon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

	PRESENT.	PERFECT.
Sing.	healde	heôlde
Plur.	healdon	heôldon

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	heald
Plur.	healdað

GERUND.	ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.	PAST PARTICIPLE.
To healdanne	healdende	gehealden

THE WEAK VERB.

(Infinitive, *lufian.*)

INDICATIVE.

PRESENT.		PERFECT.	
Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
lufige	lufiað	lufode	lufodon
lufast	lufiað	lufodest	lufodon
lufað	lufiað	lufode	lufodon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

	PRESENT.	PERFECT.
Sing.	lufige	lufode
Plur.	lufion	lufodon

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	lufa
Plur.	lufiað

GERUND.	ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.	PAST PARTICIPLE.
To lufigenne	lufigende	gelufod

In tracing the history of English corruptions, we must remember that the books upon which we have to depend were written at very different times. When we find any construction common to Gothic and English, we may feel pretty sure that this form was used by Hengist. There are some Charters, in Kemble's Collection, of the Eighth Century with very old forms; these we have in a transcript, made 300 years later. King Alfred's translation of Pope Gregory's Pastoral Care, printed for the first time in 1871 just as the great King wrote it (and not as his later transcribers corrupted it), teaches us what were the Southern forms of the year 890 or thereabouts. The bulk of Old English literature belongs to the next century. Then come the Southern Gospels, which were translated a little before the year 1000, and are more English in their idioms than Wickliffe's later version is.[1] The Saxon Chronicle carries us thence to the great landmark, the year 1066; and for this last period we may also consult the mass of Old English printed by Mr. Thorpe in his 'Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,' and by Mr. Sweet in his 'Anglo-Saxon Reader.' There is, moreover, the Tale of Apollonius and the Legends of the Holy Rood, works that seem rather late, perhaps about 1050. There are, further, the more modern English Charters printed in Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus.' I have been careful to quote here none of these last that bear evident marks of later transcription.

[1] For example; in St. John xx. 22, occurs *insufflavit* with no pronoun following. The Gospels of 1000 translate, *bleow he on hi*; Wickliffe meagrely translates, *he blew ynne*.

No language has changed its vowel sounds so much as English has done. We must remember that the old *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*, were pronounced by our fathers much as the Italians do now; and this lasted in Southern England down to 1530, as Palsgrave tells us. A remnant of the old pronunciation is still found in *father*, *plega* (now *play*), and *ripere* (now *reaper*). Our *yawn* is a clumsy attempt to preserve the sound of the old *gânian*. Every educated man should sound words like *father* and *bath* as broad as he can. The vowel *u* was sounded in the broad Italian way, as *wund*, *tu*, our *wound*, *two*; and *ow* had much the same sound; *Stow* is written *Stou* in Doomsday Book; the Southern *eower* was *iur* in Northumbria, our *your*; what we now write *new* was written of old both *neowe* and *niwe*. *Poitou*, *Anjou*, and *Ponthieu*, appear in the Saxon Chronicle as *Peitowe*, *Angeow*, and *Puntiw*. Of all our English sounds *ew* has been the most abiding. The *eaw* seems to have been sounded like the French *iou*, as in *sceawe* and *feawe*; the latter form was written by Tyndale so late as 1525. The *æ* and *ea* seem to have been pronounced much like the old *e*; we see *Ræms* written for *Rheims*, *Herbearde* for the French *Herbert*. Our *glaze* and *hair* show the old sounds of *glæsen* and *hær*; we pronounce to this day *wear* and *great* in the true Old English way; the Irish in speaking of *tea* still keep the right sound which has been lost in England since Pope's time. The *ie* also had the sound of the French *ê*. Our *au* or *aw* must, as a general rule, have been sounded like the French *ou*; the Goths wrote *praitoriaun* for the Latin *prætorium*; and *daur* for what in English was written *duru*

(ostium). Our old *nâwiht* and *sâwel* were, rather later, written *nouht* and *soul*. What we now call *awl* (subula) was *œl* from Kent to Dorset, and *owul* or *ewl* from Dorset to Salop. The Gothic has *sewhum* for our old *gesâwon* (vidimus), and we find in the earliest English both *streowberie* and *strawberie*.[1] It seems, however, that the *ou* sound never came into *pâwa* (peacock), the English imitation of the Latin *pavo*; and King Alfred writes *Agustinus* for *Augustinus*. When we see the three Old English forms, *aðor*, *auðer*, *awðer* (aut), it is hard to say whether the second should be pronounced like the first, that is, like the broad Italian *a*, or whether it should be sounded like the Italian *u*; we know that rather later it was spelt *ouðer*. King Alfred often has *o* for *a*, as in *mon* and *lore*; he has *bio we* (not *beo we*); he often has *i* for *y*, as in *ildo* (ætas). When we see his *hine lysð* (Pastoral, 391), we see the old form that gave birth to the two variations, *listeth* and *lusteth*; it is the same with *ful* (foul) and *filth*. We find not only *sypan*, but two other forms, *sip* and *sup*, both of which we keep. The old *y* was most likely pronounced like the present French *u*, the sound still often heard in Devonshire. In the Chronicle of 1049, the Flemish town we call *Bruges* is written *Brycge*. Alfred has *glii* (our *glee*) for the more usual *gleow*, and here we have followed him. We sometimes express two different ideas by varying the sound, not the spelling, of a word; thus a man throws a *stone*, and weighs not more than so many *stone* (stun).

[1] In our New Testament *strawed* still stands for what is usually written *strewed*; this we owe to Tyndale.

Proper names, more than anything else, keep the old sound of vowels. Thus, the river *Ouse* has not changed in sound, though our fathers wrote it as *Use*; it has never been sounded like the present German *au*. *Cowper* shows how the old *ow*, the French *ou*, was pronounced. *Aldgate* reminds us that *ald* was the old sound of what is now called *old*; *Birmingham* brings before us the *ham* or *home* of the Birmings; and *Stanton*, in many parts of the country, bears witness that our *stone* was once everywhere written *stân*. In Yorkshire, where *a* first began to be sounded like the French *é*, *Stanton* is now written *Stainton*. Langport, in Somerset, still keeps the old sound in its first syllable, though in common speech *lang* became *long* seven hundred years ago in the South. The Scotch surnames, M'Lean and Græme, keep alive the old sound of *ea* and *æ*; Baird remains to show how *beard* (barba) was once pronounced. The true sound of the old *ceaster* lives in the East Anglian *Caistor*.

There are two marked tendencies in English, shared by some of the other Teutonic dialects, which should be observed.

The first is, a liking to cast out the letter *n*, if it comes before *th*, *s*, or *f*. We see by the German and Norse that our *other* was once *anther* or *onther*; much in the same way *tonth*, *finf*, *gons*, became *tôð*, *fif*, *gôs*, lengthening the vowel before *n*.

The second of our peculiarities is, a habit of putting *d* or *t* after *n*, *l*, *r*, or *s*, usually to round off the end of a word, though it sometimes is inserted in the middle of a word. Thus the French *tyran* becomes *tyrant*, the Gaelic *Donuil* becomes *Donald*; the Old English *betwcox*

is now *betwixt*; thou *falles* (akin to the Greek and Latin form) is corrupted into *fallest*; but the true old form of this last still lingers in Scotland. Those who talk about a *gownd* or of being *drownded* may plead that they are only carrying further a corruption that began long before the Norman Conquest, and that has since that event turned *thunor* into *thunder*, and *dwine* into *dwindle*.

Many in our day call a *wasp* a *wapse*, and *axe* leave instead of *asking* it. Both forms alike are good old English; we also find side by side *fisc* and *fix*, *beorht* and *bryht*, *græs* and *gærs*, *irnan* and *rinnan*, for *piscis*, *clarus*, *gramen*, and *currere*. When men say, 'they don't care a curse' (the last word is commonly something still stronger), they little think that they are employing the old English *cerse*, best known to us as *cress*.

The interchange of letters in English is most curious. We may still say either *blench* or *flinch*, either *blush* or *flush*. The *frith* (*pax*), still kept in the Frithstool at Beverley, might be also written *grith*. Of old we might write either *chirk* or *chirp*, *wealcan*, *wealtian*, or *wealwian* (all answering to *volvere*), *brekil* or *britel*, *feccian* or *fettian*, *stiδ* or *stif*, *ufeweardan* or *upweard*, *slippery* or *slidderi*. The *g* has long had a tendency to slide into *w*, as we see by the Sanscrit *gharma* and the English *warm*; in our oldest works we find both *stregdan* and *strewian* for *spargere*, *sægon* and *sawon* for *viderunt*. Often does the Gothic *g* appear as *w* in English. Our *slap* must be looked for in the old *slæge*. The interchange of *s* and *r* dates from the earliest times, as in the Latin *honos* and

honor; hence came our *I was, we were*; *frozen, froren*; *lose, lorn.* Most of us who have had to do with masons know the meaning of *scamped* work: this unlucky verb may come from *scant*, with two changes of consonants that are pretty common.

The interchange of vowels was frequent. We may still translate *fugere* by either *fly* or *flee*, following the oldest usage; our *week* was formerly both *wice* and *wuce*. This accounts for our *stint* and *stunt*, with different shades of meaning; *smitan* (polluere) has dropped, but *smut* remains. In our present verb for *mentiri*, we have taken our pattern from the Second Person, *þu lyhst*, rather than from the First Person, *ic leôge*. The old *scapan* and *sceapan* (fingere) run side by side. It is a pity that we have lost our accents: we can now no longer distinguish between *metan* (metiri) and *mêtan* (occurrere). We often see our vowels doubled, to mark a difference; thus *gôd* (bonus) became *good*, that it might not be confounded with our word for Deus; *goodly* and *godly* have different shades of meaning. It is the same with *tool* and *toll*, *cook* and *cock*, and many others. King Alfred led the way, in doubling the letter *o*.[1]

We still keep the old *blendan* (miscere), but we have changed *blendian* (excæcare) into *blind*, thinking it was too like the former verb. *Wrath* stood of old for both *ira* and *iracundus*; we now mark the adjective by substituting *o* for *a*; this is an improvement. *Clâð* stood for our *cloth* and our *clothes* alike.

[1] A slight vowel change makes a great difference in the *gentility* of proper names; see *Blount* and *Blunt*, *Smythe* and *Smith*.

We have had a sore loss, since Spenser's day, in parting with the *e* so often sounded at the end of words. This began very early, for we find *wurþ* (dignus) written as well as *wurþe*.

The changes in pronouncing and spelling are all brought about by laziness in the speakers; hence it came that even in the year 803 our English tongue was very far gone from old Aryan purity. In a Worcester Charter of that year (Kemble, I. 222), *wulde* (our *would*) replaces *wolde*; *monn* and *londe* are written for *man* and *land*. Ninety years later, King Alfred, unlike the Germans, shows a distaste for the hard *g* in the middle of a word; he writes *rên* (rain), *ðenode*, *gesœd* (said), *underled*, instead of the right *regn*, *ðegnode*, *gesœgd*, *underlœgd*. The English *led* of the last word is cut very short, when we compare it with the Gothic *galagid*. He sometimes softens *g* at the beginning of a word, writing *ionga* (young), not *geonga*; just as *yera* (annus) in Gothic answered to the English *gear*. The *ge* of the Past Participle is by him often clipped, as *drifen* for *gedrifen*.[1] He casts both the *n* and *d* out of the old *endlefta* (eleventh), writing *hundœlleftiogoðan* (Pastoral Care, 465). At page 307, we see the old *sende* turned into our *sent* (misit), and at page 170, *begyrde* becomes *begyrd*, our *begirt*. The *n*, in which always of old the Wessex Infinitive ended, is beginning to be lost. Instead of the old *beoð ge*, the slovenly *beo ge* (be ye) is coming

[1] The *ge* is replaced by *i*, prefixed to Participles, so early as the tenth century. See Mr. Sweet's note, *Pastoral Care*, 489. The common form *nothink* shows how hard the *g* must have been sounded at the end of a word.

in; it prevailed in most of the manuscripts of the next age. The *o* at the end of the Verb, as in *ic biddo*, was now about to disappear in the South.

In the year 991 (Kemble's Charters, III. 256), *hæfde* is corrupted into *hædde* (habuit). In 995 (III. 295), *betest* (optimus) is changed for the Danish *bezt*, in a will; but the *z* never became very common in our Teutonic words. We have preferred *seol* (phoca) to *seolh*; though the Laird of Monkbarns, even so late as 1800, called it *sealgh*. The *h* was pronounced as a strong guttural, for Ælfeah became the Latin Elphegus.

The letter *r* must have been sounded strong, as the Scotch and Irish pronounce it now; *boren* was written for *born* (natus) even down to the Reformation: our laziness has mauled the fine old sound. The letter *n* was often added to roots in English verbs; thus we have both *to slake* and *to slacken*, *heark* and *hearken*, *list* and *listen*, *wake* and *waken*; we *black* boots, but we *blacken* a good name. So in Icelandic we find both *blika* and *blikna*. Sometimes *l* is employed instead of *n*; thus in Old English both *nistian* and *nestlian* were used, each derived from *nest*, and each having a different shade of meaning.

There is a tendency in *th*, the English sound that answers to the Sanscrit and Latin *t*, to slide into *d*; and this must have begun very early. In Gothic, both *whaþ* and *whad* are found for *whither*. In English, we see not only *cwiðe*, but *cwide* (dictum). There is now a difference between *thrilling* the soul of a man and *drilling* a hole in his body. The *sæð*, which must have been our oldest form of the Latin *satur*, has given way

to *sæd*. Since the Conquest, *rother* has become *rudder*, *byrðen burden*, and *murther murder*. As to *cwæþan*, we have kept nearer to the right spelling in *bequeath* than in *quoth*. We talk of a *settle*; but in Hardwick's Saxon Gospels (St. Matt. xxv. 31) *setl*, *seðel*, and *sedle* are employed by three different writers between 950 and 1000, when Englishing.

Christianity enriched our tongue with many new foreign words, as we see from one short sentence in a Charter of 831, *æghwilc diacon arede twa passione* (Kemble, I. 292). King Alfred shows us in his Pastoral Care how early letters and words that came through the Latin began to work a change in English. We there find not only *Sacharias*, but *Zacharias*; the *z* and *ch* were entire strangers to Pagan England: Bede had most likely naturalised them long before Alfred's time. We are not surprised after this to find the King spelling English words like *pohcha*, pouch, (343); *tiohchode* (385), and *hlichchan*, laugh (249), though in all these the *ch* must have been sounded hard. *Lazarus* was spelt *Ladzarus*, showing the Italian way of pronouncing *z*; in the Rushworth Gospels (St. Luke x. 10), *in plateas* is Englished by *on plætsa* (piazza). Alfred was not particular about his Latin cases; he talks of *ðurh Paulus* (306), he has the Genitive *Sancte Paules* (290), also of *Ieremie* (441). *ða Saducie and ða Farisseos* (363)—this last word, here used as a Nominative, would remind an Englishman of his national Plural ending in *as*. One of the first instances of the *v*, which has driven out *f* from the middle of many an English word, is found in Alfred's phrase *on Livano*, in Lebanon. His spelling seems something

born out of due time; he is a forestaller, as it were, of our modern ways, for we have followed him rather than later writers of the Tenth Century, especially in spelling *bogh* (ramus), not *boh* (Pastoral, 81); *burg*, not *burh* (hence the Borgo at Rome); and in words like *friend* and *fiend*, which rather later were written *freond* and *feond*. The old form was luckily kept in Kent and Essex. He has also our common *au* in *nauht* and *auht*, *hefon* for *heofon*, *apla* for *æppel*, *ascian* for *axian*. The new *ou* was in the end, as a general form, to supplant *u*, and Alfred writes *nouðer*. He is fond of doubling *o*, just as we have done since Chaucer's time: the King writes *foot*, *doo*, *good*. In Pages 28 and 103 he puts *gecnéwon* (knew) and *strewede* (strewed) where later writers would have written *gecneôwon* and *streôwode*; *ed* very early replaced *od*. He couples *c* and *k*, the Southern and Northern letters, in *ðicke* (P. 329): this was not much imitated until 1180. He often puts *k* for *c*, and *u* for *w*, like the Northumbrians. He writes *orcgeard*, our *orchard*, in Page 381; showing the close alliance there is between *c* and *t*, for the word was usually *ortgeard*.[1] In Page 171 we see *rædinge and leornunge*; the old *ung* at the end of a word was making way for *ing*, the new form for Verbal Nouns. He is not very fond of the diphthongs, in which Southern England rejoiced down to 1205; he puts *let* for *læt*, and he writes *hiew* (*color*, Page 133), showing us that we have not changed our pronunciation of this word for the last thousand years; if we were to pronounce it as we spell it now, we should say *hoo-y*. Our

[1] See page 86 of my Book.

true is more like Alfred's *trua* (Pastoral, 242) than it is to the more common *treowe* (confidence). We know how many in our day sound *news* as if it was *noos*; but we have in general faithfully kept the *ew* sound, unless when it follows *l* or *r*, as *blew* and *rew*, rue.

In writers a little later than Alfred, but living before the Norman Conquest, we find *Indie* for India, *Iuliuses* for the genitive of Julius, and *Theodor* for Theodorus, (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 43–51). The second example foreshadows our *crisises* and *crocuses*. So early as the time of the Rushworth Gospels (St. John xix. 5) *purple* was written instead of the Southern *purpur*. The Latin *castella* is translated in the Gospels of 1000 by *ceastra*, the crumbling *casters* or *chesters* still left in our land to bear witness how Rome of yore laid her iron grip upon Britain.[1] Sometimes in the Gospels the Latin *castellum*, meaning a village, is Englished by *castel*, a word which fifty years later, when French ideas first began to take root in our land, was to be applied usually to a fortress. We of 1877 are sometimes more Teutonic than our fathers; thus we say *cup*, not *calic*, in the Eucharist.

Latin was the official language of religion in Western Christendom; it early gained a footing among foreign nations. We can guess how it was pronounced down to about the year 400, when we see *sakerdos* imitated by the Irish *soggarth*, and *lukerna* by the Gothic *lukarn*. The Latin sound *e* was rendered by the Gothic *ai*, as

[1] *Tadcaster*, and many another town with the same ending, keeps the old *castra* alive in our mouths.

taitrarkes. The influence of Latin soon made itself felt in England. Time was computed by Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Churchmen brought scores of Latin words into vogue, which have kept their ground for the last twelve hundred years. We even formed new English verbs from the Latin: thus *beclysan*, our *enclose*, must have sprung in early days from the noun *clysing*, which itself came from the foreign *clausus*, *claustrum*. One of the strangest compounds of Latin and English is the word *sol-sece*, the flower that *seeks the sun*; *noontide* is something of the same kind. English sometimes throws light upon old Latin pronunciation. Thus, in the great Roman colonies of the Rhine land, the name of the huge earth-shaking beast must have been sounded *elep-has*; and this our forefathers called *ylp*, which lasted down to 1230. When we see the Latin *pavo* Englished as *pawa*, we get a hint as to the way the Latin *v* was pronounced, at least in some provinces; the sound afterwards changed on the Continent, for *fers* and *serfis*, not *wers* and *serwis*, was written by Englishmen before the Norman Conquest for *versus* and *servitium*. Grimm's Law tells us plainly that words like *temper* and *fœmne*, found in early English writings, were borrowed from the Latin, and that they have not always been in English use.

We have already seen the careful heed which the English bestowed upon the cases of their nouns, the inflections which they had brought from the Oxus. King Alfred first shows us how these began to be corrupted in the South; the *um* of the Dative Plural, which appears in every one of our old Declensions, seems to have always been the first inflection to be mauled. In the Pastoral

Care, 347, we find *mid ðæm yðon*; *on ðæm miclan stormum*, 59; and many more such instances could be given. The process went on in the Gospels of a century later, and the *um* was all but gone by the year 1200.

Our *sweetmeat* is very old, for it is found as *swêtmete*. But sometimes two Substantives are yoked together, as *wudu-hunig*, wood-honey; here the first substantive has the force of an adjective; it is a peculiarly English idiom. Our *country house* is surely much less cumbrous than the French *maison de campagne*. The old phrase 'a Parliament man' is better than 'a member of the Legislature.' Sometimes one of these old expressions seems to be wholly gone, and then is revived in very modern times. Thus our fathers spoke of a *wif-freond*; this has come to life again in our '*lady-friend*.'[1] In St. Luke xi. 12, we read *scorpionem, ðæt is ân wyrm cynn*. Here once more two substantives are coupled; we should now say, 'a kind of worm.' The old *carl-catt* has now become *tom-cat*: this change cannot well have taken place until after the death of St. Thomas of the English. We should carry on the process of coupling nouns as much as possible, if we wish to enrich our tongue, and our Poets should here take the lead. No language but English would now use so concise and handy a phrase as 'The Commons Enclosure Consolidation Act.'[2] A Substantive was sometimes dropped to save breath; as in a sentence from the Chronicle of 982, *Æþelmæres lic lip*

[1] I have heard *lady-dog* in the mouths of *nice* people ever since 1843. Lord Kames used to employ a far plainer word, as Scott tells us.

[2] See Earle's *Philology*, p. 471.

(here), *and Eadwines* (there); *lic* should have been repeated after the second proper name. Mätzner (III. 225) quotes *ic wæs on êðle þînum, þu wurde on mînum*; here the *êðle* is not repeated.

I have already remarked upon English terseness. This is seen in the phrase *Gode ðonc*, 'thanks (be to) God,' which comes like a parenthesis in the middle of a sentence in the Pastoral, p. 26. Again, in Ælfric's Homilies (Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' p. 85), we find *se apostol wæs nigon geara*; here *old* has been dropped.

In p. 57 of the same book we read *for Godes lufan*; here we should now say, 'for love to God.' Hence comes 'the King's traitor,' and many such phrases, which lasted long.

In this work I find it very convenient to talk, like the Greeks, of the Old and the New. In former days an Adjective was often used as a Substantive, as *ure ieldran* (Pastoral, 5), our elders, forefathers; hence we say, 'your betters,' 'your superiors.' Thus the Substantive *goods* was formed from the Adjective, as in Latin. 'There is not his *like*' is but the old *his gelîca nis* (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 34). Our *on the loose* is foreshadowed by *on þam drygean* (St. Luke xxiii. 31). In the Pastoral, p. 399, Lot says, *her is an lytele burg . . . heo is an lytel*; in our days, we should add *one* to the last word. In p. 385 comes *ðu gionga*, thou young un; this *un* or *one* did not take the place of the final *a* until 1290. In this way the old *bedrida* became *bedridden*. Our well-known 'easy does it' is a curious substitution of an Adjective for a Substantive. The *deep* might stand for the Latin *mare*, as it does in our time.

We know our poetic construction of Adjectives, as seen in Mr. Tennyson's '*A* grey old wolf and a lean.' Something like this, though not exactly the same, may be seen in St. Luke xxiii. 50, where Joseph is described as *gôd wer and rihtwis.*

We sometimes see an English Adjective clipped in a way that the Latin would not bear. In the Chronicle of the year 980, *norð scipherige* is put for 'the *northern* army.'

Now and then a word compounded of an Adjective and a Substantive is used as an Adjective, as *barefoot*; *barehead* lasted down to the Fifteenth Century. We might say of old both *ân-eâge* and *ân-êged*, one-eyed. We often compound a Substantive with an Adjective, as the old *blôdread*, 'blood-red.'

Our *good*, as we know, is sometimes used in a sense differing from *virtuous*. We might justify, from the Saxon Chronicle, our phrases 'a good while ago' and 'a good deal of work,' like Horace's *bona pars hominum.*

Our poets keep alive Old English epithets, dating from the earliest times; thus we find in Kemble's Charters, IV. 292, *red gold* mentioned.

One of our heaviest losses is the almost total disuse of the *un*, so often prefixed to Adjectives, as in *un-good*, *un-mighty*, and many others. It was also prefixed to Substantives as *un-might*, and I rejoice to see that such words as *unwisdom* are once more coming to life in our land. We also talk of *un-churching*, just as Burnet wrote of *un-shrining* and *un-sainting*. The Gothic opposes *unhabands* (he that hath not) to *habands*. The

freer play that is given to this good old Teutonic prefix, the better will it be for our tongue. It is a shame to use *non* as a prefix where *un* will do; this is as bad as *subletting* instead of *underletting*. The old prefix *wan*, something like *un*, now lives only in *wan-ton*.

Of all our parts of speech the Verb is the most precious, for in its varied forms we find most traces of hoary Aryan eld. We keep many old verbal idioms with but little change, such as 'I am seeking,' 'I am come,' 'they are gone,' 'he thought to slay,' 'seek to come,' 'enough to eat,' 'worthy to bear,' 'this house to let,' 'fair to see,' 'I do you to wit,' 'he is going to read,' *he gæð rædan*. The Gerund was much used, as, *ic tô drincenne hæbbe*, 'I have to drink,' like Cicero's *habeo dicere; wæron tô farenne*, 'they were to go.' *Mæl is me tô feran*, is like the Gothic *mel du bairan* (St. Luke i. 57). Our curious idiom of Participles, 'he ceased commanding,' 'they dreaded asking,' is found in Old English, as, *geendude bebeôdende, ondrêdon âcsigende*. So also, 'I heard him speaking,' 'I saw it burnt.' *He hæfde hine geworhtne*, 'he had him wrought,' common enough with us, is not often found in Greek or Latin. The Present Participle is often used as a Substantive, as 'the living and the dying.' It has always been allowed to prefix *un*, as 'the unbelieving,' 'the unbecoming.' The Past Participle was used in the same way, as, *se awyrgda* (the accursed).

The Future was expressed by *shall* and *will*, but oftener by the Present; we still say, 'another word, and I go.' *Ic môt, þû môst*, expressed permission, and was very seldom used in our sense of *must*, expressing need; *licet*, not *oportet*, was the idea. The Second Person of the

Present sometimes replaced the Imperative, as, *six dagas þu wircst*, in the Fourth Commandment. We sometimes use the Future as a mild Imperative; *you will go there*; here *will* keeps one of its old senses, (oportet). If an idea has to be presented both in the Present and Future tense, the Verb often stands in the Present, and is followed by *will* without an infinitive. This is true English conciseness. Mätzner quotes from Exodus: *þis folc wixþ and swiðor wyle*, 'this folk waxeth and will (wax) further.' On the other hand, the *shall* is sometimes dropped before a second infinitive; Cadmon's Satan mourns *ðæt Adam sceal wesan on wynne and we þolien.*

The *should* is employed in a most curious old idiom, to be found in King Alfred's tale about Orpheus; 'they said that the harper's wife *sceolde acwelan*;' we simply say 'that the wife died.' Hence comes our phrase; 'who should come up but Thomas,' that is 'who came up.' The *should* is further used instead of *shall*; our fathers translated the Latin *debeo* by *sceal*; but King Alfred shows us the idiom that we still keep, *ða reaferas geðenceað, ... ac hi sceoldon gehieran*, &c. (Pastoral Care, 343). The *sceoldon* in this passage clearly stands for *debent*, not for *debuerunt*. The old meaning of *shall* is kept in the bidding prayer before University sermons; 'ye *shall* pray for all mankind,' &c.; so too, 'Thou shalt not steal.' The confusion between *shall* and *will* is very old. In St. John vii. 35, the Gothic has, '*whadre sa skuli gaggan?*' the English has, '*hwyder wyle ðes faran?*' (whither will this man go?) the Greek word here is *mellei*.

There is a curious idiom of *will*, still often heard in the North, an idiom which may be found in the Pastoral Care, 451; *hwæt wile ðæt nu beon weorca?* what work *must* this be? Mätzner quotes other sentences of this kind from the Bœthius; it is to be remarked that these are all questions. I heard an old woman say at the Leeds Exhibition, as she stood before a portrait: 'That will be Shakespeare, a'm thinking.'

Since the Norman Conquest, the bare Future has always been expressed, at least in Southern England, by *I shall, thou wilt, he will*; a most curious anomaly, by which the Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and some of the American States, are thoroughly puzzled. Everyone knows the famous 'I will be drowned, and no man shall save me.' Even Thackeray, after travelling in Ireland, confused the two verbs, as may be seen in his 'Irish Sketch-book.' *I will* should never be used unless earnest intention or a promise is to be expressed; *thou shalt, he shall*, should never be used unless fate, duty, or command, is to be expressed; *shall* answers fairly well to *must*, as we now use the latter. As regards the bare Future, perhaps the reason for the aforesaid anomaly is, that a man has complete control over himself, and therefore employs the grave and weighty *I shall*; he has no such absolute control over others, as a general rule, and therefore employs the lighter *thou wilt, he will*.[1]

[1] Herodotus, as is well known, sometimes uses θέλω, like our *will*, to express the bare Future. We say 'I will gladly do it,' but on the other hand, 'I shall like to do it;' in the last instance it is felt that the *will*, expressing earnest assurance, would be a pleonasm if used with the verb *like*.

Let us hope that we shall always cleave to the ancient Subjunctive form, 'as it were,' instead of 'as it might be.' The old Imperative *wæs* (esto), is nowhere found now, except in *wassail* (wæs hâl).

We have seen how useful the verb *do* has always been in framing our English speech. A phrase like *he doth withstand* (not *he withstands*) seems modern; but it is found in King Alfred's writings. Our emphatic *do* was sometimes prefixed to the Imperative. Christ said to the woman taken in adultery, '*Dô gâ*, and ne synga þû næfre mâ' (St. John viii. 11). *Do not thou turn* was expressed of old as *ne dô þû, þæt þû oncyrre*. The verb *do* was also employed, both transitively and otherwise, to save the repetition of a former verb; Alfred speaks of planting an assembly, *sua se ceorl deð his ortgeard* (Pastoral, 293), 'as the churl doth his orchard.'

We see an attempt to supply the want of a Middle Voice in such phrases as *hê bepohte hine*, 'he bethought him,' and the later 'I fear me.' 'It rained fire,' is a true Old English phrase: We have some Impersonal Verbs left, and one that is very precious, since no *it* comes before the Verb in question. This is *me thinks* (mihi videtur), which has nothing to do with *think* (putare). We should not confound the two, if the second were written in the right way, *thenk*. The Germans, wiser than the English, have kept the two verbs distinct.

We sometimes see the pronoun *thou* cast off after the Verb, especially in a question. Mätzner quotes *Eart nu tîdfara?* Hence comes the later *dost hear? what sayst?* The disgusting *what say?* one of our latest improvements, seems to belong here.

The Nominative is dropped before the Verb, in sentences like *do what I can, go where we will.* This is seen in the old *hycge swâ he wille.*

We speak of a horse sometimes as *gone lame.* In St. John iv. 6, we see *he wæs wêrig gegân*; the verb of motion having taken the sense of *fieri*; rather later, *become* was to take the same meaning.

The Infinitive of verbs of motion is often dropped after *shall* or *must. Ic him æfter sceal* (I shall after him) is an old idiom.

We see our common Infinitive, with *should* prefixed, very early encroaching upon the rightful Subjunctive, , In the Pastoral, p. 381, comes 'hear what is written that the bridegroom *scolde sprecan.*' These last two verbs were usually expressed by one word, like the Latin *loqueretur.* This *sceolde* with the Infinitive very often followed *that* in a dependent sentence. Now and then we find *may, might,* used with the Infinitive, where the Subjunctive is most usual.

We have always used *I would* for the Optative, like the Latin *vellem.* Mätzner quotes from Boethius *ic wolde þæt he sceamode.*

The *if* could always be got rid of in English, and a shorter construction might be used; as, *ahte ic gewealdd, þonne ic werode*; here the first clause would be in Latin, *si potestatem haberem.*

The Subjunctive usually, but now and then the Indicative, followed *that, ere, though, when,* and *if.*

The Latin *nisi* was sometimes Englished by *nære þæt* (were it not that), followed by the Subjunctive.

Intransitive Verbs sometimes took an Accusative of the same stem; *live a life, fight a fight, deem a doom.* Lord Derby imitated this very early idiom in his version of the Iliad; 'knee me no knees.'

We sometimes find two Infinitives coupled together, as, 'Let her go hang.' This dates from the earliest times; in the Beowulf is found, *we môton gangan . . . . Hrôðgâr geseon.* The phrases 'I heard say,' 'he let them speak,' &c., are equally old. But where the Gothic and Latin have the Accusative with the Infinitive, English commonly put *that* with a dependent sentence; as, '*hit betere wære þæt an man swulte.*'

The English sometimes put a Past Participle where the Gothic set an Infinitive; as in St. Luke iv. 23, *we gehŷrdon gedône.*

The Dative Past Participle Absolute is found early, as *gefylledum dagum*, 'the days having been fulfilled.' We still say *this done* (hoc facto).

Now and then we find a Verbal idiom which is very old, though it seems modern. Thus in the Pastoral Care, p. 393, Solomon, when he began to sacrifice to idols, *forgêt hine selfne*, 'forgot himself.' The Latin *morte afficient* (St. Matt. x. 21) is translated by a sound old English idiom, *to deaþe fordôþ* (do to death). One curious fact about English is, that many idioms found in the oldest books disappear for hundreds of years, and then crop up again. Such a phrase as 'he doth withstand' seems to be dropped after the Norman Conquest, but comes up again fresh as ever two hundred years later. It is the same with words. The old *teorian* (deficere) disappeared for many centuries; it is not

found in the Bible of Tyndale's time except in the French sense of *adorn*, but about 1590 it crops up in the shape of *tire* (to weary), and is seen in Shakespeare. What in the English of 1000 was *nâ geteorige* (St. Luke xviii. 1) is in Tyndale *not to be wery*. So *frician* (saltare) seems to be the parent of our modern *freak*.

In our days, we put 'to speak shortly' in the middle of a sentence; this is an abridged form of our fathers' *hraðost is to cweðenne*, which comes in a catalogue of sins in p. 110 (Sweet's 'Reader').

We now come to Pronouns. Sometimes *he* is used, as well as a substantive, to govern a verb. Thus in St. Matt. xxvii. 19 *he sæt ða Pilatus*; we now often hear say 'he sat then, did Pilate.' The idiom in 'thy rod and thy staff they comfort me' dates from the oldest times. The *hit* in English may stand for any masculine or feminine object, or for an indefinite subject. Thus in St. Mark x. 47, *hit wæs se Hælend* replaces the older Gothic *Iesus ist*. In St. John xviii. 5 *ic hit eom* stands for the Gothic *ik im*, I am he. This *it* often goes before an Infinitive, as '*it is good to praise*,' or before a conclusive sentence, as '*it is no wonder if I fear*.' In St. Matt. xxvii. 6, *nis hyt ná álýfed* is substituted for the Gothic *ni skuld ist*, 'it is not allowed;' but sometimes we omit *it*, as in '*dydon swa beboden wæs*,' '*acted as was ordered*.' In the Pastoral, 381, we see the first glimpse of our emphatic 'it was then that he did it,' *ðæt bið ðonne ðæt mon gehiere, ðonne*, &c. Sometimes, as we have just seen, *ðæt* replaces *hit*, and may be followed by a Plural, as in the Pastoral, 409, *ðæt sindan ða ða ðe ne beoð besmitene*, 'these are they that be not defiled;' *þæt wæs god cyning*, like our 'that is a good fellow.'

Indefinite agency was expressed of old as much as now; as *þonne hig wyriað eôw*, 'when they revile you.'

Personal Pronouns are sometimes reflexives, as *I lay me down*; *sittað eôw* (Pastoral, 385). They are sometimes even added to an intransitive verb, as *gâ ðe on sibbe*, 'go in peace' (St. Mark v. 34), where the Gothic has *gagg*, with no Pronoun. Hence comes our '*get you gone*,' and such like. Phrases like *I shame me*, *I repent me*, are first seen in texts like *ondrêd he him* (St. John xix. 8). English is unluckily without the reflexive Gothic *sik*, the Latin *se*.

The strange Dative reflexive has always been used, as *Pilatus hym sylf âwrât*. Indeed, there are old instances of this Dative Pronoun being employed as a Nominative by itself. The *sylf* sometimes stands as a Substantive; for Mätzner quotes '*hæfdon geweald heora âgenes sylfes*,' 'had power over their own person.' When we look back upon the aforesaid Dative reflexive, we see that the Irish are right in saying *meself*, not *myself*; the former is the old Dative *me sylf*, brought to Erin by Strongbow's men-at-arms. In St. Mark ix. 2, *sylfe* stands for the Gothic *ainans*; *lædde hî sylfe on sundron*, 'he led them by themselves apart.'

Before entering on the next subject, it is impossible to refrain from pointing out how much bad grammar would now be avoided had we English anything answering to the Latin distinction between *suus* and *illius*, *se* and *illum*.

The Possessive Pronoun is often used without any substantive, as *eall ðætte his ne sie*, 'all that is not his,' (Pastoral, 333). It is sometimes tacked on to a Sub-

stantive, for Mätzner quotes, *Enac his cynrȝn* (Anak's kin), Numbers xiii. 29.

We still use the Definite Article to express high respect, as *The Macnab, The Duke, The Chronicle, The Charter.* In the Pastoral, 301, we find *se ure Aliesend*, 'our great Redeemer,' 'that Redeemer of ours.' What the Romans called *Cæsar* was known to the English as *se Caser.*

The Definite Article is coupled with Participles, just as it is with Adjectives; as *the chosen of the Almighty.* On the other hand, the Article is now omitted, just as it was omitted before the Norman Conquest, in phrases like *send word, on earth, in bed, at heart, in hand.* If we read of *Sinai munt* and *Herode cyning*, we are not astonished at our now using *London town, King Herod, Twelfth Night.*

The *seô*, which usually stands for the Feminine Definite Article, sometimes stands by itself, like *heô.* Hence comes our *she.* In the Gothic version of St. Mark vi. 24, *si qaþ* is used where we should now say *quoth she. Andswarude se him* (St. Matt. xxi. 30); here *se* translates the Latin *ille.*

The Dative Singular Feminine, *þére*, has still all the force of *ista* in the mouths of the vulgar, as in *that there woman*; but they apply it to all genders. In St. Matt. x. 23, we see *on þysse byrig . . . and on þære.*

The *them*, representing the Latin *illis*, though found in Gothic (St. Mark ix. 16), did not make much way in England until about 1200. We find, however, *ahæfen on ðæm* (Pastoral, p. 371).

Se, seô, þæt, are old Demonstrative Pronouns, which have been used later as Definite Articles. In

St. Luke x. 28 we find the Gothic *þata tawei*, where Tyndale has *this do*. In the Pastoral, 48, we see an idiom still well known to us: *ðæt wæs Hieremias*, 'that was Jeremiah.' In St. Luke i. 39, the Latin *in illis diebus* is translated by the Gothic *in þaim dagam*, and by the English *on ðam dagum*; our lower classes in the South (as also the Irish) still hold to the right old way and say, 'in them days.' Our corrupt *those* came from Yorkshire, and was never heard of in written English until 1250.

There was a Gothic *jains* for *iste*, and we find its kindred English form in Alfred's Pastoral, 443, *gong to geonre byrg*, 'go to yonder burgh.' This word did not become common in English until 300 years after Alfred's day. In the Rushworth Gospels *illuc* is translated by *geond* (St. Matt. xxvi. 36), our *yonder*.

The old *ðylic* or *ðilc* is used where the Gothic *swaleik*, *such*, came; as in St. Luke ix. 9, *hwæt is ðes, be ðam ic ðilc gehŷrê?* The aforesaid *thilk* afterwards became a Demonstrative, and has been used in the sense of *iste* in the South and West ever since 1220. This seems to have been foreshadowed so early as 890; *ðyllic* is opposed to *ðis* in the Pastoral, 315, where Alfred is translating Isaiah lviii. 5, 6: 'I have not chosen *that* fast, but this fast.' In the Lindisfarne Gospels, fifty years later than Alfred's time, *eos* is translated by *ða ilco* (St. Matt. xxvii. 10).

One old English use of the Pronoun should be specially marked, since some mistakes have been made about it in our day. *In their midst* is a thoroughly good

idiom, for *in medio eorum* (St. Matt. xviii. 2) is Englished by *on hyra midlen.*[1]

The well-known Latin phrase *quo plus . . . eo plus*, becomes in English *bið þŷ heardra, þe swîþôr beâtað*, 'it becomes *the* harder, *the* stronger they beat.' This is, in our day, the one sole case in which *the* is not a Definite Article, but a Demonstrative. Mätzner quotes from Cadmon the sentence *þæs snottor weorðe þæt, &c.*, and we still sometimes hear the poor say, 'he was *that* clever, that,' &c.; *eo sapientiæ ventum est. Self* follows the Definite Article, as we now use *same*; *dôn ðæt selfe* (Pastoral, 327). We still say 'the self-same.'

The Neuter Interrogative, *what*, refers sometimes to Masculine and Feminine Substantives, just as *that* does. The terse Gothic *whas ist?* (in Latin, *quis est?*) becomes the expanded English *hwæt ys he?* (St. John xii. 25); *hwæt* may go before a Plural, as *hwæt synd ða þing?* 'what are these things?' (St. John vi. 9) This *what* sometimes takes a Genitive Singular after it, as *hwæt niwes?* what news? Most men, I fancy, imagine this *news* to be a Plural. The Instrumental case of *hwæt* had two forms, *hwŷ* and *hû*, still known to us as *why* and *how.*

The English *which* (*hwa-lic, hwylc*) is in truth our form of the kindred Latin *qualis*, though now most corrupted in its use; the earliest sense of all lasted down to 1400. King Alfred shows us that in his day the

[1] Mr. Hall, in *Modern English*, p. 48, comes down pretty sharply upon earlier blunderers in this matter; but he does not go higher than Wickliffe for his authority. So late as 1792, 'I was delighted with *your* sight' might be written; we should now say 'the sight of you.'

sense of *quis* was encroaching upon that of *qualis*; for he writes *hwelc* wundor? where we put *what* wonder? The like change took place in German some centuries later. In St. Luke x. 22, *hwylc* is used for the Gothic *whas*, where Tyndale uses *who*. It was very early followed by a Partitive Genitive, as we say, *which of them?*

There was an old *somhwylc* (aliquis); in imitation of this were formed *somewhat*, *somewhere*, and many others, in later years.

There is sometimes a curious interlacing of constructions in our sentences; as, 'Whom will ye that I release unto you?' This comes down from early days. We see in St. Luke xiii. 18, *hwam wene ic þæt hit beo gelic?*

The omission of the Relative after a Substantive dates from before the Conquest. In the Chronicle for 907, we read *her . . . geför Ælfred, wæs on Bapum gerêfa.* Hence our 'the man I saw.'

There has been a wonderful change since 1100 in the English construction of Relatives. These were of old commonly expressed by *se, seô, þæt*, according to the antecedent's gender, or by the indeclinable *þe*. We see in St. Matt. ii. 9 *þâ wæs gefylled þæt gecweden wæs* (id quod), whence comes our later *take that thine is.* The Latin *quis est qui*, &c.? becomes in English *hwa is se ðe?*

The old indeclinable *swâ*, our *as*, had also a Relative force; the hoary *swa hwa swa* (quicunque) means in truth *that man who, such man as.* We say '*as to this*' (*quod* ad hoc spectat), and the poor still say '**a** man *as* I saw.' We find *swilc man sue*, 'such man as' (Kemble's Charters, I. 296). The English *swa hwæt swa* (quodcunque) was in Gothic *þatawhah þei* (St. John xv. 7).

The Indefinite Article *ân* (the Gothic *ains, unus*), might stand before Numerals, as, *a hundred, ân hund penega* (St. Matt. xviii. 28); so also *a few, âne feâwa worda*; here the *âne* is plural, and means *only*. Our lower orders imitate this idiom and say, 'a many times.' *Sum other* (alius) has been replaced by *an other*. In St. John xvi. 16 is found *ân lytel*, where we now say 'a little while.'

An is sometimes used standing by itself, like the Latin *unus* and the Gothic *ains*, as *he sceolde him forgyfan ânne*, 'he should deliver to them one man' (St. Luke xxiii. 17). Horace has *cerebrosus prosilit unus*, where the *unus* stands for *quidam*. In this latter sense may be taken *cwæþ an his leorning-cnihta* (St. Luke xi. 1). But this free use of *an* by itself was far more common in the North than in the South. In St. Matthew xix. 16, *unus ait* is translated in all the Northern Gospels by *an cueð*; this idiom rather jarred on English ears in the South, and is there replaced by *ân mann cwæð*. In St. John xviii. 39, the Gothic *ainana* becomes in Southern English *anne man*. I have been careful to explain this *an* (one), since there is a wrong notion abroad that our *one* (*one* asked him) comes from the French *on*; it is to Old English translators of the Latin *unus* that we should look for an explanation of this idiom. New English idioms nearly always first appeared in the North. The Gothic *in ainamma dage* is seen with us as *ânum dæge*, it happened *one day* (St. Luke v. 17).

The oldest Latin had no Indefinite Article; *una ancilla dixit ad me*, a phrase that St. Jerome had no objection to, smacks more of Manzoni than of Cicero,

and marks a wondrous change in the speech of educated Italians. Both the Gothic and English employ this Indefinite Article; in St. Matthew viii. 19, we find *ains bokareis* and *ân bôcere* for what Tyndale afterwards called *a scribe*. One of the most marked tendencies of the oldest English, such as the Beowulf or Cadmon's Lay, is to leave out the Article. Hence our many pithy phrases like, 'Faint heart never won fair lady;' we have here a great advantage over the Germans. The Article might even be dropped before an adjective with no substantive following, as in St. Mark i. 7; *strengra cymþ æfter me*; compare, *handsome is that handsome does*. *An* was used where we now say *alone*; as in the Pastoral, 227, *læt ân ðæt gefeoht*, 'let alone the fight.' Another idiom for this was *lætaþ hi*, 'let them alone' (St. Matthew xv. 14). In St. Luke ix. 38, we find *mîn ânlîca sunu*, my only son. We have our first glimpse of a common expression of ours in *he hit tiohchode eall tô anum*, he 'thought it all one' (Pastoral, 385).

Man was used indefinitely, where the Greeks would have written *tis*; and the loss of this *man* leaves a sad gap in our modern English. Readers of 'David Copperfield' will remember the collegian who uses the phrase *a man* for *I*; as 'a man is always hungry here;' 'a man might make himself very comfortable.'

Dickens, like Tyndale and Shakespeare, was fond of another hoary old Teutonic idiom for his Indefinite Pronouns; thus, 'he spoke, as *who* should say.' This may be traced back fifteen hundred years; Ulphilas writes *yabai whas*, the Latin *si quis* (St. Matt. v. 39); we now

commonly say '*if any one.*' This Indefinite *who* or *man*, as I showed before, comes into *swa hwâ swa*, our *whoso.*

We still keep the Neuter of this Indefinite Pronoun in our 'I tell you *what*;' in Latin, *aliquid.* 'To give somewhat,' is in Gothic, *wha giban* (St. John xiii. 29); the *somewhat* I have just written is as bad as writing *âliquid quid.* Any relic of old idioms, standing quite by itself, puzzles modern speakers; hence some insist on regarding the aforesaid *what* as if it must answer to the dependent *quid*, and say, 'I tell you what it is.' There is yet another old use of this word left; as in *what with this, what with that.* The word *sum*, our *some*, might stand for either *quidam* or *aliquis*; we now usually confine it to the latter sense. In St. Matt. xx. 20, *aliquid* is Englished by *sum þing.* The phrases 'some ten years,' 'such and such (man),' date from before the Conquest.

Few of us know what is the real construction in a phrase like 'they hate each other.' Here *each* is the Nominative singular, and *other* the Accusative singular; we see in Ælfric's Colloquy (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 113), that *prosit unusquisque alteri* is translated by *framige ânra gehwylc oþron.*

Our *first* is a word of corrupt formation; in the Pastoral, 121, we see the old form *he wille fyrmest beon*, the Gothic *frumist.* What of old was *þâ forman twâ*, is in our day *the first two*, as Cooper writes; Sheridan wrote *the two first.* In the various versions of the Bible, we find *primùm* translated by *ærest*; in Ælfric's Colloquy, which is rather late, this becomes *fyrmest*; 'seek ye *first* the kingdom of God.'

In St. Mark vi. 7, we see the distributive form of

Numerals; 'sending out the disciples *twâm and twâm*,' an idiom differing from the Gothic. The Latin *secundus* was Englished by *oðer*; of this we keep the trace in 'every *other* man.'

The old translation of the Latin *alter . . . alter*, was by the kindred English *oðer . . . oðer*. But in the Pastoral Care, 49, we see the beginning of a new form; *twa bebodu, an is ðæt . . . oðer ðæt*. In the Legends of the Holy Rood, a further step is made, for the Article is prefixed; *forlet þa œnne dœl . . . mid þam oþrum dœle*. In St. Matthew xviii. 12, we hear of the hundred sheep, and of their owner seeking *ðæt ân ðe forwearþ*, the one that is lost; in Latin, *eam quæ*. This as yet is a most unusual idiom, though it is found also in Ælfric.

In the same Gospel, xiii. 46, we see a curious idiom that is still alive; *una pretiosa margarita* is Englished by *þæt ân deorwyrðe meregrot*. Here *ân* represents something that stands *alone by itself*. We may still write 'the *one* (solus) supremely able man,' 'the *one* perfect song.' The epithets in these sentences seem to be almost superlatives; Dr. Morris, in his 'English Accidence,' p. 145, gives many instances from 1300 to 1600 of *one the* (mark the transposition) being prefixed to Superlatives, as, *one the fairest*. Scott, in his 'Life of Napoleon,' uses this idiom so late as 1827.

Sometimes the Cardinal and Ordinal are combined; as *ân and twêntigôðan*, 'one and twentieth.' The construction of our *half* differs from the Latin; in St. Mark vi. 23, we find *healf mîn rîce*, 'half my kingdom;' *an half swulung* (Kemble's Charters, I. 310), would now be 'half a ploughland.' In the Chronicle for 894, we hear

of the army, that they were *aymle healfe æt hâm*, 'half always at home.'

Many was followed by both Singular and Plural Substantives; as, *many man;* about 1200 we began to insert the indefinite article before *man*. There was a substantive *mænigeo*; which we still use, when we talk of *a great many*; in confused imitation of this, in some parts of the country, they speak of *a good few*. We always placed the *enough* after a noun; as, *fierst genog*, 'time enough' (Pastoral, p. 415).

Adverbs are often formed from Substantives, as in *ealne weg* (alway), used by King Alfred; *ferdon onweg*, 'fared away.' This class of words clings to life; thus the old *ðærrihte* (continuo), survives in the American 'I'll do it *right* away.'

The points of the compass were used adverbially; thus in the Pastoral (p. 9), *me his writerum sende suð and norð*. So in the Blickling Homilies, 129, we read, *seo is west ponon* (she is west thence); in p. 209, *wæron norð of ðæm stane* (were north of the stone). This idiom is most unlike the Latin.

We sometimes see two old forms of an Adverb, as *upweard* and *upweardes;* either form is still allowable. The *es* in the latter form was in the Thirteenth Century to be added to many other Adverbs. *Unwæres* (unawares) may be seen in the Chronicle of the year 1004.

How and *why*, as I said before, are but two forms of one old pronoun; the former asks as to the manner, the latter as to the cause, of a thing. But our *how* still sometimes borders on the *why*; as, 'how is it that ye did not believe?' *Why* is often used (Dr. Johnson always

began with *Why, sir*, where no reason is expected, as a kind of expletive; thus we see in St. John viii. 48, *hwi ne cweðe we wel þæt þu eart Samaritanisc?*

The repetition of Adverbs in a sentence is very old; as, *little and little*; so is the combination of opposite adverbs, as, *feor and neah*, 'far and near.' King Alfred, in his Pastoral, p. 5, says, *ic wundrade swiðe swiðe*; this reminds us of the later French *beaucoup, beaucoup.* In the Pastoral, p. 389, we read of *feorr land* (far land), a curious English idiom. In p. 8, we find an idiom still kept in our Bible; Alfred tells us that in his day English learning was *clœnè oðfeallenu* (clean decayed). This sense of *omnino* is also attached to the French synonym; as Molière's *c'est pure médisance.* I have actually seen *clean* in this sense set down as mere slang by one of our would-be philologers; his Bible might have saved him from this blunder.

There was another phrase for *omnino*, to be seen in Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' p. 105; 'we have robbed God's house *inne and ute*;' we now talk of 'out and out.'

In our word *nowadays* we have the old Genitive of a Substantive used as an Adverb; the word was known of old as *idœges* (hodie). The adverb *needs* (he must needs go) is another relic of this Genitive.

Many Adverbs are formed by adding *lîc* (now *ly*) to the root. The most curious instance of this form is the adjective *ungeliclîc* (unlikely), where *like* comes twice over. Others are formed by adding *ly* to a Participle, as *laughingly.*

The adverb *here* generally refers to place, but sometimes (not often) to time. Thus the Chronicle names a year, and then adds 'here died the King.' This is the source of our *hereupon*, *heretofore*, &c.

We often omit the verb in sentences like 'I did it when a boy,' 'I climbed till out of breath.' This free play, in which English outdoes all other tongues, may be seen in the Chronicle for 901: 'he died four weeks *ær Ælfred*.' The rightful *ær þam þe* was very early replaced by *ær* (ere) before a Verb. But *against* took *that* after it, unlike our present usage, *lêdon lâc ongên þatte Josep ineode* (Genesis xliii. 25).

The Expletive *þær*, like the Indefinite *hit*, was commonly used by the English to begin a sentence, as *þær was ân cyning*. This resembles nothing in German or Latin. Prepositions were often tacked on to this *þær*, as *thereout*, *thereunto*, thus forming Compound Adverbs.

Some think that *yea* is a more archaic form than *yes*; but *gese* and *geâ* are alike found in our oldest writers. There was also once a *nese*. As to negation, when a man says 'I didn't never say nothing to nobody,' this is a good old English idiom that lasted far beyond 1600. Hamlet says 'Be not too tame neither,' and good writers of our own time have had something of the kind. Much harm has been done to our speech by attempts to ape French and Latin idioms, especially about the time of the Reformation. For instance, we are now told that an English sentence ought never to end with a Preposition. This absurd rule is later than Addison's time, and is not sanctioned by our forefathers' usage. When

Cadmon asked for the Eucharist on his death-bed, he said *Berað me hwæþeré husel tó*.[1]

Our word *nay* has probably never changed its sound, but it was of old written *ne*, as in our Lord's words, 'I say unto you, náy.' In St. Luke xiii. 3 there is another form, *ne, secge ic, nâ*. This last is not far from our *no*, which King Alfred used much as the Scotch do now; 'I am *no* fain to go.' In the History of Job (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 36) we read *ic sylf and nâ oþer*, showing the parentage of our *no other*. The phrases *no less, no more, baptized or no*, are very old, though we have substituted *no* for *nâ*.

The negative was expressed by *ne* coming before a Verb; but not long before the year 1000 we see this encroached upon by the Adverbial Accusative *nâwiht* (nihil). Mätzner quotes *nose habbað and nâwiht gestincað*, (Psalm cxxxiv. 17); also, *wæs he nâwiht hefig*, from St. Guthlac. This *nâwiht* in the Twelfth Century became *noht*, and was afterwards pared down to *not*. The latter form answers to the Latin *non*, while *naught* or *nought* answers to *nihil*; one of the many instances of one Old English word becoming two-pronged, as it were, in later times. In the Pastoral Care, 240, *nauht* (nihil) is turned into a substantive, *ðæt nauht wæs ðurhtogen*, 'the wickedness was perpetrated.' Hence came *nahtnes*, naughtiness, and other formations of the like kind.

Nan, like *ân*, had a Plural, as in the Pastoral, 395: *ða ðe wîf hæbben, sien ða swelce hie nan hæbben*, 'let those that have wives be as though they had none.'

[1] Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, 58.

Hence comes our 'Thou shalt have *none* other Gods but me.'

Bu was used just as we employ *both* in phrases like *both he and I.* We have lost certain other old forms for expressing this, such as *ge*; still, in our version of II. Corinthians vii. 11, *yea but* is used to English the Greek *alla*, repeated again and again.

Gélîce is now our *likewise.*

The Latin *non solum* appears in the oldest English as *nâ þæt ân.* We now omit the word in the middle. In St. John xiii. 9 we see the change beginning; *nâ mîne fét âne, ac eac,* &c.

Our *same* was never used except adverbially; thus *wîfmen feohtaŏ, swâ same swâ wœpned men,* 'women fight the same as men;' that is, in the same way, (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 45). The Latin *idem* was expressed, not by *same*, but by *ylc*; this lingers in Scotland, as in the phrase *Redgauntlet of that Ilk.* The Scottish *ilka*, from *œlc* (quisque), should never be confused with the Scottish *ilk* from *ylc* (idem). *Same* (idem) began to come into vogue about the year 1200.

We find *âŏer . . . oŏŏe*, 'either . . . or,' answering to the Latin *aut . . . aut.* In the like way *nâŏor* is followed by *ne*, 'neither this nor that.' In Numbers xiii. 20 *hwæŏer* is followed by *oŏŏe*, 'whether . . . or,' but this was plainly a new idiom. The Latin *seu* appears as *swa* in English, as in Ælfric's Colloquy, *swa hwæper þu sy, swa ceorl, swa kempa.*

The old *þenden* (dum) was being encroached upon by the Adverbial clause that has now quite driven it out. We see in the Pastoral, 331, *ŏa hwile ŏe.*

Our *now* will translate not only *nunc*, but *quoniam*; *þû mê ne forwyrne, nu ic com.* The sense of time, however, still hangs about this *quoniam.*

It is curious that we find *swâ lange swâ* (the Gothic *swa lagga wheila swe*, St. Mark ii. 19), and many such expressions, but only *sôna swâ*: so Moore in his Canadian song says—

'Soon as the woods on shore look dim.'

We still employ *though* (the German *doch*) at the end of a sentence, in the sense of *tamen*, just as our forefathers did. The first germ of our *for all that* (tamen) may be seen in 'ge *for þon* ne gelyfdon Drihtne' (Deuteronomy i. 32).

We sometimes find sentences and poems begin abruptly with *and*, like Southey's 'And I was once like this.' This idiom is found before the Norman Conquest.

Our *if* answers not only to the Latin *si*, but to one sense of the Latin *an*. It might be followed by the Indicative, as '*Gif he synful is, þæt ic nât*' (St. John ix. 25).

The English for *quum* was usually *þâ* or *þonne*; but before the Norman Conquest *hwænne* (the Latin *quando*) had begun to encroach upon the older forms; still these lingered on until the Fifteenth Century.

The old *swa*, or *as*, was also used for *quum* and *dum.* It is hard to say which of these Latin words should translate *as*, in a sentence like Fielding's, 'they arrived just *as* dinner was ready.' Our *as oft as* is found in Gothic, *swa ufta swe* (I. Cor. xi. 25).

The old opposition of *so* to *so* is still kept in 'so many men, so many minds.' This is a remnant of the old *swâ micel swâ, swâ lange swâ, swâ feorr swâ.*

Swa, like our modern form of it, *as*, was very early used for the Latin *quoniam*: 'thou shalt suffer, *swâ* þu lâðlice wrôhte.' It had also the sense of *quamvis*: '*swâ* he ne mæg gestælan, he hæfð þeah,' &c. Hence our 'bad as he is, he still,' &c.

Swâ also stood for *quasi*, and this is kept in our 'as it were.' It is coupled with *forth*, as in our common phrase, 'so forth.'

The old *gelîce* was used before *swâ*, as in our 'like as a father pitieth.'

Our *though* borders upon *if*: we know the Latin *etiamsi*. Mätzner quotes from Canute's Laws, *he sylf sceolde, þeah he lîf hæfde*. Our 'no wonder though,' &c., is equally old.

The English tongue cuts down its sentences as much as it can, and therefore often drops *that*, coming after a Verb; as 'I grant the man is sane.' This clipping was in vogue before the Conquest. Mätzner quotes *sægde hi drîjas wæron; we wolden þu gesâwe.*

That not after a Negative sometimes answers to *without*, as in Jerrold's 'We never met, *that* we did *not* fight.' Something like this is seen in the old '*hig fôron þrî dagas þæt hig nân wæter ne gemêtton*' (Exodus xv. 22).

That is used after a Comparative, like the Latin *quòd*; so Bulwer has 'fears, not the less strong that they were vague.' This *that* was of old written *the*; as *hit is þê wyrse þe sume habbað twâ*. Equally early instances of *in that* and *for that* (quia) might be given. *Tô þam þæt* stood for our *to the end that*.

The old *siððan* (since) has always stood for *postquam* and *quoniam* alike.

We find *oð nu*, 'until now.' This government of an Adverb by a Preposition, sparingly found in these early times, has had great development in later ages.

Prepositions were prefixed to the Teutonic verb; but they were often detached from it, even so early as the days of Ulfilas; our language has therefore in this respect fallen below the level of Greek and Latin. How much better are the old *fordo* and *aflet* than our new *do for* and *let off*! King Alfred writes (Pastoral, 101), *Moyses eode inn and ut*; *englas stigon up and ofdune*. In our own day, we have to say *entrance* and *exit*, since *going in* and *going out*, albeit Scriptural, would sound most cumbrous. In St. Matthew, xxv. 11, the foolish Virgins say, *læt us in*. The Gospels of 1000 have *drifaþ ut*, where the older Northumbrian version has the happier compound of earlier years. Both the Gothic and the English use 'he was out,' in St. Mark i. 45. The phrase *bring forþ* in St. Matt. xii. 35, is by no means so neat as *profert*, the Latin to be translated. Our modern *he uprose* is surely better than the *árâs he upp* of the year 1000. What in Gothic was *afmait*, became in the English of 1000 *áceorf of* (carve off), as we see in St. Matthew v. 30. King Alfred writes (Pastoral, 171), *ne tio hie mon of*, 'let not man draw them off.' We now write both *of* and *off*, making the latter usually an adverb; this is one of the double forms so often seen in the New English. *Of* is now and then used for a verb; thus Alfred (Pastoral, 239) writes *ne mæg he óf*, he cannot get off.[1] In the

[1] Shakespeare's *Out, out, brief candle!* is something like this; a Frenchman translated it, *Sortez, sortez, courte chandelle!* thus show-

Legends of the Holy Rood, 103, (Early English Text Society), we find, *he dyde of his purpuran*; this *do off* we afterwards contracted into *doff*, and *do on* (St. John xxi. 7), into *don* in the same way.[1] The uncoupling of Prepositions adds to our store of expressions; thus to *throw over* and *set up* are different from to *overthrow* and *upset*.

The Preposition *of* is used instead of the old Genitive, to express material. Thus we find not only *scennum scîran goldes*, but also *reâf of hærum* (St. Matt. iii. 4). Compare Virgil's *templum de marmore ponam*. This *of* and this *de* have been the parents of a widespread offspring in modern times; but our Old English Genitive Singular is happily still alive, though we use it more in speaking than in writing. The *twegen of eow* (St. Matt. xviii. 19, Southern version), seems very modern, especially when contrasted with the Rushworth copy. The Partitive use of the *of* was becoming more frequent about 1000; what in Gothic was *sumai þize bokarye* became in the English of that year, *sume of ðam bócerum* (some of the bookers, scribes), as we see in St. Mark ii. 6; *ælc of eow*, is in St. Luke xiv. 33. This *of* follows the Singular as well as the Plural. In '*ye are not of my sheep*,' we have a still unchanged idiom. But we find even in the Gothic (St. John xii. 42) *us þaim reikam managai*, 'many of the rich.' Coupling two prepositions like *out of* is a regular Teutonic idiom. The

ing how a Preposition can be turned into a verb. We hear people say, 'I up and told him.'

[1] In *don* and *doff* our *do* still keeps the sense of the kindred Greek *ti-the-mi*, the Old English *ge-do-m*.

following phrases date from very early times; 'to heal of his wound,' 'eaten of worms,' 'to borrow of him,' 'do nothing of myself,' 'he was of Bethsaida,' 'he sprang of (off) the horse,' 'fear of thee.' English often put *of* where the Gothic has *from*.

In modern times, *by* has encroached upon *of*. King Alfred seems to use the former in the sense of instrumentality; *bi him selfum ælc mon sceal geðencean* (Pastoral, 159), 'each should learn through his own case;' *he hine genime be leornunge* (Ibid. 169); *bi ðam oncnawan* (Ibid. 265). 'To fall out by the way,' 'to have a son by her,' 'less by one letter,' 'have it ready by Easter,' 'a hundred by weight,' 'word by word;' these phrases date from very early. In the phrase 'to do one's duty *by* a man,' we are reminded of the Gothic *bi*; this often stands where English would use *ymbe* (circum.). The English *be* recalls the Latin *de*. In the old Southern Gospels we find 'to live by bread,' and 'to die by the law' (secundum legem), a Gothic phrase. This *by* is not as yet prefixed to the *person* who is the agent. Another of the oldest uses of *by* is kept by our sailors, who say 'North *by* East.'

With has two meanings, seemingly contradictory, in Latin, *cum* and *contra*. We say, *to walk with a friend*, and *to fight with a foe*. It was used in both senses long before the Conquest. In the Rushworth Gospels we read, *sepe nis mid mec wið me is* (St. Matt. xii. 30). *With* has also the meaning of the Latin *versus*, 'towards.' King Alfred (Pastoral, 113) writes, *emn wið oðre menn*, 'just towards other men.' Hence comes our 'I'll be even with you.' In later times *with* has encroached upon

for, *by*, and others of its brethren; it has moreover driven out the old *mid*, which expressed many of the old senses of *with*: some of these we still keep; such as, 'what will he do with it?' 'with that he departed,' 'filled with grace,' 'overgrown with wood,' 'weigh oath with oath,' 'with God it is possible,' 'hold up his head with the best;' in this last phrase *with* answers to the Latin *inter*.

Many of the oldest senses of *for* remain; such as, 'gave him wine for drink,' 'held him for king,' 'he came for bread,' 'grace for grace,' 'betrayed him for envy.' In this last, the English *for* reminds us of the kindred Latin *per*; in some of the other senses of *for*, the Latin *pro* appears. We read of sins 'for Gode and for worulde,' we should now say, 'as regards;' the phrase is the parent of our common 'as for this,' *quod ad hoc spectat*.

As to *from*, we find in the oldest English; 'to hide from me,' 'to rest from work,' 'far from me.' This last appears in the later 'he is from home.' In the old idiom, *fram begeondan Jordanen*, 'from beyond Jordan,' we see two prepositions coupled together.

We have a clear hint of the Scottish *fornenst* in *fôran ongean eow*, (St. Matt. xxi. 2).

The old meaning of *before*, in 'they were righteous before God,' dates from the year 1000, or earlier.

The preposition *after* appears in 'made after His likeness;' this is the Latin *secundum*. There is also 'we sent after him,' 'we asked after him.'

Toward was very early severed, that the substantive might be inserted in the middle; our '*to Godward*' is

well known. In the Chronicle for 1009 we find, '*to scipan weard.*'

There is an old sense of *under*, which is common to the Scandinavian and High German, and which answers to the Latin *inter viam*. This is 'to get under way.'

The oldest senses of *to* are seen in phrases like, 'eat to your fill,' 'mouth to mouth,' 'to this day,' 'I doom to death,' 'to this end,' 'to my knowledge.' 'Cut to pieces,' is slightly altered from the old '*ceorfan to sticcon*;' 'to my cost,' is foreshadowed by '*to miclum weorðe.*' The Dative after a Verb is sometimes replaced by *to* in Gothic as well as in English; moreover, we know St. Jerome's '*dixit ad me.*' The phrase *to night* is found both in English and Gothic; our *up to time*, preserves a trace of the use of *to* as applied to matters of time.

The preposition *æt*, the Latin *ad*, is near of kin to the last-mentioned *to*. We find among our oldest phrases, 'to have at hand,' 'have at heart,' 'at midnight,' 'at home.' In the Chronicle for the year 1049, comes *æt læstan* (at least); in *æt nextan*, we have cut away the preposition, and now write *next*. We still say, 'run at him,' where hostile intent is meant; but we can no longer say, in the friendly sense of old days, 'I was in prison, and ye came at me.' *At* is a preposition which has been much encroached upon in later times.

The oldest meanings of *on* are seen in 'he took on him,' 'he is on fire,' 'to avenge on him,' 'to gain on them,' 'to feed on thoughts,' 'on either hand.' The

words *on* and *in* interchange in Old English; and even now either of them might stand in phrases like, 'on this wise,' 'trust on him,' 'grace was on him.' The imitation of the Latin *in* and the French *en*, in later times, brought *in* very forward; we can therefore no longer say, 'on sheep's clothing,' 'there is life on you,' 'long on body,' 'on idle' (in vain), 'took on hand,' 'cut on two.' As to the old 'thrice on year,' the *on* is now corrupted into *a*. Very unlike the Latin idiom is the English construction in St. John xi. 51; *Caiaphas wæs ðæt gear bisceop*; a construction that we still keep. Two verses before, we find, *on geare bisceop*.

The old *gehende*, in Latin *juxta*, still survives, as *handy*; in St. John vi. 19 comes, *he wæs gehende ðam scype*.

We began very early to turn Prepositions into Adverbs. In the Pastoral, 395, is seen, *ðærryhte æfter rehte Paulus*, 'Paul discoursed immediately afterwards.'

We now even turn Prepositions into Nouns, for we talk of a man's *ups and downs*; also into Verbal Nouns, as, *an ðuting*; also into Verbs, as, 'I *downed* him with this.'

On the other hand, it is curious to see an Adjective turned first into an Adverb, and then into a Preposition. Thus, *sið* means *late*; it then became *siððа*, meaning *afterwards, since*; last of all it is seen as a Preposition, taking an Accusative case; '*since* that time.' The resources of Language are truly wonderful.

We follow very old usage when we put a Noun before its governing Preposition; as in, 'this plea I turn

from.' Sometimes the Relative is omitted, which should accompany the preposition, as, 'candles to eat by.' It is wrong to derive this omission of the Relative from the Scandinavian; King Alfred often has something like it; for instance, 'men took their swords *Godes andan mid to wrecanne*' (wherewith to avenge God's wrath), in the Pastoral, 381. Anything more unlike the Latin cannot be conceived; here is the true English terseness. Rather later, the Preposition was to be made the last word in the sentence.

Our sailors have kept alive *bæftan* (abaft) as a Preposition, though *æft* (aft) is with them only an Adverb. *Bûtan* and *binnan* (in Latin, *extra et intra*) still linger in the Scotch Lowlands; as in the old Perth ballad of Cromwell's time:—

When Oliver's men
Cam but and ben.

Anent, which of old was *on-efn*, is preserved in the same district; and this most useful word seems to be coming into use among our best writers once more. But *gelang* (the Latin *per*) is now used only by the poor; as in 'it is all *along* of you.' We sometimes hear the old *onforan* as *afore*, and *ongêan* sounded as *again*, not the corrupt *against*. *Tô* is still used in America in one of its old senses, where we degenerate English should use *at*; we find in the Beowulf *sécean tô Heorote*, 'seek at Heorote.' The old Northumbrian *til* is employed in the North, where we say *to*.

I repeat a few other instances, where we still use Prepositions in the true Old English sense, though very

sparingly. To do one's duty *by* a man; to receive *at* his hands; *for* all his prayers, i.e. *in spite of*; to go *a* hunting, which of old was written, *gân on huntunge*; eaten *of* worms (*by* is hardly ever used before the Conquest in this sense of agency); we have Abraham *to* our father; made *after* his likeness; to get them *under* arms. Our best writers should never let these old phrases die out; we have already lost enough and too much of the good Old English.

As to Interjections, *O* was Gothic, but is not seen in English until the Twelfth Century, when *a* (*ah*) also first appeared. We find *eow me* in Psalm cxix. 5, which Mätzner quotes; *ou* is found about 1300. The place of the Gothic *O* was supplied by *wâlâ*, *ealâ*, and *lâ*. Christ thus addresses his mother (St. John ii. 4) *lâ wîf*. English school girls, I believe, still use this *la*. The *ealâ* was followed by *þæt* and *gif*, just as we now say *O that* and *O if*, when expressing a strong wish. *Nû* is used for the Latin *ecce*, in St. Luke xiii. 35, and seems the parent of our '*now*, what would you think?' *Leof* was employed where we say *sir* (St. John xx. 15), and sometimes appears as *lâ leof*. Perhaps something of the old world lingers about our 'Dear Sir.' In Ælfric's Colloquy, *etiam* is translated by *ge leóf*; the latter word seems but an expletive. In the same piece we see the Latin *O*, *O*, translated by *hig*, *hig*; which explains why we shout *hi*, when wishing to stop any one; (Thorpe, 'Analecta,' 102, 103).

The English of old employed *hwæt*, (quid) as an Interjection. This is the first word of the Beowulf, and answers to our *Ho*. The old usage may be traced down

to our times, though it was thought to be somewhat overdone by King George the Third.[1]

Sometimes an English word has always borne two different meanings; thus from the earliest times, *idle* might be applied to either a *man* or a *tale*. But a word has now often lost one of the meanings it might bear of old; thus *fen* has always translated the Latin *palus*, and it might once also have translated the Latin *lutum*. On the other hand, one word in New English often stands for what were two words in the older tongue. Thus our *bow* represents *boga* (arcus) and the Icelandic *bôgr* (prora), as well as the verb *bigan* (flectere), the parent of the nouns. Our *saw* is used for both *sagu* (dictum) and *saga* (serra). Without reckoning *rima* (ora), the old *hrîm* (gelu) and *rîm* (numerus) have but one representative in New English; hence Pitt was able to punningly translate 'Aurora Musis amica' by 'a rimy morning.' Our *share* stands for both *scear* (vomer) and *scearu* (pars); and our *cleave* stands for both *clifan* (hærere) and *clufan* (findere): Strong Verbs both. The many meanings of the one word *box* are well known; it represents Old English, Latin, and Scandinavian words.

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[1] In the Rolliad, the King meets Major Scott, and thus expresses himself:

Methinks I hear,
In accents clear,
Great Brunswick's voice still vibrate on my ear.
'What, what, what!
'Scott, Scott, Scott!
'Hot, hot, hot!
'What, what, what!'

It is the same with *sound.* In Burns's line, 'weary fa the waefu' woodie!' the first word has nothing to do with the English term for *fessus*; it is a corruption of the old *werg* (maledictio). A word has sometimes dropped, and has left such a gap that popular instinct coins a new word, as it were, on the old lines. Thus, *upahefednes* is seen revived in our *uppishness*; *gifol* is gone, but in some parts of the country *givish* is used to express *open-handed. Sylf-lic* died out, and was replaced after many centuries by the *selfish* of the Puritans. Mr. Murray has lately revived a fine Old English word in *hand-book.* We parted with *ânlic*; we have, therefore, after a long interval, been driven to borrow *unique* from France.[1]

In some cases Verbs have become oddly corrupted, and the corruptions have, so to speak, run into each other. Thus we have now but one verb, *own*, to represent both the old *ahnian* (possidere) and the old *unnan* (concedere). The modern *leave* is used both for *lefan* (permittere) and *lîfan* (relinquere). Thus too we have only *settle* to stand for both *setlan* and *sahtlian.* This slovenliness is seen elsewhere; in French, *louer* has to do duty for both *laudare* and *locare.* We now talk of '*healing* a wound,' and of 'a wound *healing*;' the old verbs were *hælan* and *hâlian.* The Dorsetshire peasantry, as Mr. Barnes tells us, have an advantage over us; for they pronounce in the true Old English way words that in polite speech have but one sound; thus they say *hèäle* for *sanus*, and *hàil* for *grando.* We have made a sad mistake in confounding the once distinct

[1] So the old *quivis* was lost in Italy, and was replaced by the later *qualsivoglia.*

sounds of these words; hence blunders sometimes arise.[1] Thanks to our slovenly forefathers, English is now the punster's Paradise: Hood knew this well.

We have not often kept the sound of the old vowel at the end of a word so faithfully as in *worthy*, *smithy*, the former *weorðe*, *smiððe*.

Sometimes one Old English word gives birth to two different modern verbs; thus the old *bellan* has yielded us both to *bellow* and to *bell*, the one used of bulls, the other of deer. Scott tells us that he was glad to adorn his poetry with the latter form of the verb. Something of the same kind has happened with *toil* and *till*, both coming from the old *tylian*.

In the English of our day are many words that are reckoned slangy, but which have a good old pedigree. Such a one is *tout*, a word well known to racing men; but we find King Alfred writing *ða heafudu totodon ût*, the heads projected, peeped out, (Pastoral, 105). To *lark* comes from the old *lâcan* (ludere); this verb North of the Trent is pronounced *layke*, coming from the kindred Icelandic *leika*. An actor is there called a *laker*. To *hoax* comes from the old *husc*, a slight. Newcastle men have been known to puzzle a stranger by saying that they have eaten a *brick*; this is but the old *brice* (fragmentum). The verb *dyderian* (decipere)

[1] I remember at school, about the year 1843, that our class was given Scott's lines:

'Hail to thy cold and clouded beam,' &c.,

which we were to turn into Latin longs and shorts. I still recall the disgust of the master (*vir plagosus*) on reading one blockhead's attempt: it began with *grando!*

has sunk very low, since *diddle* cannot be used by any grave writer; the *r* has changed into *l*, just as *hridrian* has become *riddle*. The old *slôp*, an over garment, is the parent of our common *slops*. Mrs. Barkis, in Dickens, allows that her husband is a little *near* (parcus); this is the old *hneaw*, with the first letter clipped. Readers of 'Tom Brown's School-days' will remember the Slogger; his name must have come from *slôgon*, the Plural Perfect of *sleán* (ferire). There was a good old English verb, *sparran* (claudere); this has had *t* attached of late years, to round it off (*ar*, 'tu es,' became *art*) in the usual English way, and it is now seen in the College phrase 'to sport my oak,' or keep my door barred.[1] To *pink* a man is not an elegant phrase now; but in the Pastoral, p. 296, *pyngan* (borrowed from the Latin *pungere*) is used of Abner when slaying Asahel. The verbal noun *pungetung* is derived from this verb; hence comes our *punching*. 'He's a fell clever lad' comes in one of Lady Nairne's ballads; the adverb is one form of the old *fæl* (verus). Such phrases as, 'a heap of people,' 'swingeing damages,' 'to egg on,' 'unbeknown,' may all lay claim to the best of English pedigrees. Our lower orders much enjoy a dish known to them as 'pig's *innerds*;' this is the old *innewearde*, (viscera). Locke, in 1678, wrote of the *inwards* of a beast; see his Life, by Fox Bourne, I. 402. To *sing small* seems slangy; it may be found in King Alfred's Pastoral, p. 461. 'To *spirit* up a man to act' is not

[1] An antiquary, capable of seeing very far into a milestone, might derive the verb *spoon*, so well known to our young men and maidens, from the old *spanan*, with its Perfect *spôn*, to allure.

reckoned a classical phrase, though at first sight it seems to come from the Latin; it is in truth a disguised form of the old *to-spryttan* (excitare); *spurt* and *sprout* come from the same root. In the Pastoral, 249, we read *habban to gamene* (hold in mockery); we here see the source of our scornful cry, *gammon*! Our *swindle* may come from *swindan*, to vanish. 'Here is a wrinkle for you' must come from the obsolete *wrence* (dolus).

Our Old English words are often sadly degraded. No writer could now use *mannish*, *sneak*, *shove*, or *smirk* in a dignified sense; but these had no debasing meaning of old: *snican* is used of 'creeping things.' Our *nap* (dormire) might be used in the loftiest of senses, as in the Northumbrian Psalter, I. p. 142. We have, in our *wheedle*, rather changed the sense of the old *wædlian*, 'to beg;' and the old *gilpan* (gloriari) has come down to *yelp*. *Fus* was an adjective that might have been applied to Alfred or Athelstane; our *fussy* seldom rises now above an old woman. *Stink*, like the Latin *odor*, had a good as well as an evil meaning. *Puer* might be translated by either *cniht* or *cnáfa*; the former English word rose much higher in the world about 1050, the latter sank very low about 1360.

There are many words which we have not wholly lost, but which we now use in a most restricted sense. The old *wyrt* (herba), so common of old, is now seen only in *St. John's wort*, and a few other such plants. *Hrif* (uterus) survives in *midriff*; *hýð* (ora) in proper names like *Rotherhithe*. The said names are most useful in keeping alive old English words; thus *cîne* (scissura) survives in the many *chines* of the Isle of Wight; in

Black Gang Chine, two words out of the three have dropped out of the common speech of Southern England. Northfleet and Southfleet remind us of the old *fleot* (statio navium), which at Bristol is still called the *Float.* The hills round Buxton are a fine preserve of the old names used by different races, the Tor, the Law, the Knoll; Deepden keeps up the old English *den* or *valley*; Holbourn reminds us that *burn* (brook) once prevailed in the South as well as in the North; Port Meadow at Oxford speaks of the Roman *port*, used by our pagan forefathers as a name for a *town*; indeed, *port* and *upland* stood for *town* and *country*. The *Gut*, a mile or two off, reminds us of the old *geotan* (fundere). Tadcaster is, in its last two syllables, a good imitation of the Roman *castra*, known elsewhere as *caistor* and *chester*. *Twyford* reminds us that *twy* once stood for *duo*. Proper names keep alive the names of trades (such as *Walker*, *Baxter*, *Bowyer*, *Lister*, and *Arrowsmith*,) that have died out or are called by new terms. Perhaps an old relic, found in one or two towns, preserves an old word that has long been dropped elsewhere; we cannot say that our Teutonic name for *peace* is altogether dead, so long as the *Frith* stool stands in Hexham Church. The old *attercop* (aranea) has its last syllable alone left, as we see in *cob-web*; *copp* (apex) remains in *coping stone*, and Hay Cop is a hill near Buxton. If we had kept *efesian* (fundere), we should now use *eaves* in the true old way, as a Singular, not a Plural. We have lost the old verb *wisnian*, but we keep its Past Participle, *wizened.* Our *glendrian* (to swallow) has left a relic of itself in *glanders.* The old *crumb* (curvus) survives in *Crummie*, the name often

given to a cow in Scotland. The verb *werian* was a great loss; the substantive *weir* remains, which I have heard pronounced as riming both to *bare* and *beer*: we should make a point of pronouncing it in the former way; its sound must not be corrupted like that of *either*. *Trymman* (confirmare) is seen in its old uncorrupt sense in 'trim the boat;' it exists in other phrases with a rather different meaning. To *weigh* anchor preserves a recollection of the kindred *vehere*. The substantive *trendel* (orbis) is gone, but we still *trundle* a hoop, and a line *trends* towards an object. Though we hear of *pig-sticking* in India, still we cannot now use *stick* freely in the sense of *pierce*, as our forefathers did. We talk of a *fretted* ceiling; the old *fretwian* (ornare) might have been used in a much wider sense. The *banns* given out in Church still remind us of the old *geban* (proclamatio). We sometimes hear 'I'll *learn* (docebo) you this;' the verb represents the old *læran*, which has got confounded with *leornian*. We have sometimes thought that we could improve our forefathers' speech by yoking two of their synonyms together; when we say *sledgehammer*, it is like a Latinist writing *malleus* twice over. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that *main strength* was always reckoned good English. The old *wae* was both a substantive and an adjective; both are kept in Scotland, *wae 's me*, and *I'm wae for the man*.

The gradual decay of old words is most mournful; their meanings seem to become more and more restricted. How narrow a sense has *sake* (causa) in our day, compared to what was its old power! *Loom* once stood for any household utensils; it is now restricted to the

weaver's trade: we also talk of *heir-looms*. The word *thing*, in its sense of *causa*, remains in our phrases, 'I would not for any thing,' 'but for one thing.' The phrase, 'to hear the *rights* of it,' remains to show that *riht* would of old English *veritas*. The *tale* told by Milton's shepherds may bear two senses, as we know. The old *wright* (faber), still common in Scotland, has died out in England except in the compounds *wheel-wright*, *ship-wright*, and such like. The old *sibb* (affinis) survives only in *gos-sip*.

It is curious to see more than one meaning given to an English word, and to know that these meanings run very far back. Thus *weather* had a second sense, that of *procella*; this is kept alive by the saying, 'fear neither wind nor weather.' Thus also *man* has always borne something like the sense of *servus*, as well as that of *homo*; it implies inferiority; an officer or a farmer speaks of his *men*. The old *weorc* meant *dolor* as well as *opus*; the former sense remains in, 'I had sad *work* with him.'

When we speak of a *fish-wife*, we bear witness to the fact that *wife* has always meant *mulier*, as well as *uxor*. The different meanings of one verb date very far back; *habban* means *trahere* as well as *habere* (Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' p. 63); *sceotan* (shoot) still means both *torquere* and *ruere*, and of old it had a third meaning, *solvere*. It is curious that *lætan* (let) should have always had the contradictory meanings of *sinere* and *obstare*. We may now both *drive* a trade, and *drive* cattle; either sense dates from early times. We have good sanction both for *sticking* pigs, and for *sticking* to a friend. *Find* has always had the sense both of *invenire* and

providere; 'you must find yourself.' The adverb *fæste* has from the first had two meanings; a Frenchman once complained that in England a horse was said to be *fast* when galloping, and also *fast* when tied to a gate.

Our speech is now but a wreck of what it was. Thus *barn*, the old *ber-ern*, alone remains of the many substantives that had *ern* (locus) tacked on to them. Of all the verbs that bore the prefix *æt*, only one is left, retaining that preposition sadly mangled; this is *ætwitan*, our *twit*; its three last letters still linger in Scotland, in the shape of *wyte* (culpa). *Answer* alone remains to show us our old *and*, the Greek *ἀντί*; *anew* preserves a trace of the clipped *ed* in *edniwe*, this lost prefix having commonly given way before the foreign *re*. *Onlihtan* has imitated the French by taking the shape of *enlighten*; *asteallan* has become our *install*; but the old *a* has been too often cast off altogether.[1] Sometimes there has been a confusion between two old prepositions; thus, the last syllable of *tôgênes* has been tacked on to *ongegn*, and thus *againes*, *against*, has been formed. We have no longer the substantive *stow* (locus), except in proper names, though we keep the verb *stow* (locare). Many niceties of inflection have been lost: the Perfect of *drink* had of old *dranc* for its Singular, and *druncon* for its Plural; the like may be remarked in *sing*, and many other verbs. Our sorest loss is in our power of compounding; how few know that 'wilderness' is nothing but *wild-deor-ness*, the place of wild beasts. We still

[1] We have also clipped the *a* in the French *avant-ward*, and made it *vanguard*. Our Northern writers tried to clip *apostle* and *epistle* in the same way, following their Scandinavian forefathers.

keep *manhood*, but we have lost *manship*, and have therefore recourse to the Latin for *humanity*.

However we must remember that our present tongue has compensating advantages. Old English prose, it must be allowed, was rather cumbrous in its construction, the weightiest word, as in Latin and German, often coming at the end. If ever English were to become the leading tongue of the world, this peculiarity would have to be cast aside. The peasants of the North-Eastern shires, in their daily talk, followed the far simpler Scandinavian construction; if any chance were to bring their speech into vogue, on the ruins of the old classic English, the new dialect would be sure to add flexibility to the former pith and strength; this is the heritage of all English speakers who are not false to their national traditions.[1]

There is also a tinge of poetry in our prose. Let us hope that we shall never leave writing sentences, so finely varied in construction as, 'spoke the maid,' 'holy is he,' 'gold have I none,' 'well have you done,' 'this done, he left,' 'with this I complied,' 'never spake man,' 'of noble race she came,' 'die you shall,' 'firm as steel, as marble hard,' 'lady mine,' 'come one, come all,' 'his daughters three,' 'a grey old wolf and a lean,' 'who answers dies,' 'it is gone, that sensibility

[1] How expressive are the three words, 'First, London, Return.' If these were to be turned into classic English, they would be expanded into something like this: 'Will you give me a ticket that will entitle me to go to London and return thence by a railway carriage of the first class?' Our speech, as spoken in common life, is wonderfully terse and pithy; your average Englishman will never waste his breath more than he can help. His tongue is well fitted to be the language of the world in future years.

of principles.' The writings of the great man, from whom I have taken the last phrase quoted, are a standing lesson to his brethren the prose writers; we must steadily tread in the steps of the poets, at least so far as right reason will allow; we must never let our written tongue reach the dead commonplace level to which underbred vulgarity would fain drag us down.[1] As it is, our English speech of 1877 rises far above the French in varied construction of sentences, and far above the German in flexible ease.

There was one favourite art of our forefathers, which we have not yet altogether lost, prone though we have been to copy French rimes. This art was Alliterative poetry, as seen in Cadmon's lines on the Deluge:—

For mid Fearme
Fære ne moston
Wæg liðendum
Wætres brogan
Hæste Hrinon
ac hie Halig god
Ferede and nerede.
Fiftena stod
Deop ofer Dunum
sæ Drence flod.[2]

Conybeare traces this love of Alliteration in English

[1] Lord Macaulay wrote in his *History* about cavalry *pricking* over the plain. This fine old Spenserian verb was objected to by Mr. Croker, in the famous *suicidal* review of the *History*; the difference between the well-read scholar and the tasteless pedant could not be more happily marked. Mr. Froude uses many fine old phrases, at which the Frenchified Gibbon would have shuddered. The scholar improves our tongue, just as the penny-a-liner debases it.

[2] Conybeare's *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, xxxiii.

poets down to 1550, and Earle traces it on further to 1830. Byron's noble line on the Brunswicker's death at Quatre Bras is well known. I can bear witness, from my own schoolboy recollections, to the popularity of this old metre in 1849.[1] This it is that has kept alive phrases like 'weal and woe,' 'born and bred,' 'sooth to say,' 'fair or foul,' 'kith and kin,' 'bed and board,' 'make or mar,' 'might and main,' 'hang high as Haman,' 'forget and forgive,' 'fish, flesh, and fowl,' 'meddle and muddle.' The Tory majority in 1874 was said to be due to 'Beer and Bible.' Wolsey was assailed as follows:—

> 'Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
> How high his Honour holds his haughty head.'

Sydney Smith compared the curate of his day to Lazarus, 'doctored by dogs and comforted with crumbs.'

This Alliteration was the soul of the earliest English poetry. Poets and Priests are the two classes of men that have most influence in keeping a language tolerably well fixed; with rare exceptions, they look back with loving eye to what is old. It is truly wonderful that the Gothic and English (without a written literature, so far as we know), should have kept their intricate inflexions fairly well preserved for so many thousand years after leaving the old Aryan cradle. It was their poets and priests, no doubt, that prevented these tongues from sinking into a confused jargon. English poetry has always held to old forms, that have been long dropped

[1] We were fond of an old ballad, beginning with—

> 'All round the rugged rocks
> The ragged rascal ran.'

in common life; of this, Spenser and Thomson are the best examples. The 'Erectheus' of Mr. Swinburne, and the 'Sigurd' of Mr. Morris, show us the way in which we should go. Religion, in this noble race, has run abreast of Poetry. Christian ministers took up the old conservative tradition where the Pagan priests dropped it. All over the world the same effect may be seen. The Bible, translated into hundreds of tongues, has from first to last had a most conservative influence upon the languages spoken by mankind; it has done its best to fix them, if we may apply the verb *fix* to so fleeting a thing as language; religion and philology go hand in hand. Bede and Aldhelm, Wickliffe and Tyndale, alike bear witness to this truth; may the English pulpit ever cling fast to her old traditions! It was the Anglican clergy that taught Dryden how to write English, as the poet himself acknowledges. Lord Macaulay, after a philological argument with Lady Holland, laughs at the idea of anyone, who has not the English Bible at his finger-ends, setting up as a critic of English. It was no mere chance that made one of our present Archbishops a foremost leader in reviving the long-neglected claims of our glorious Mother-tongue.[1] Bishop Patteson, a new Hervas, was as renowned for his philological studies as for his missionary achievements.

[1] Dr. Trench is a good Teuton, and is therefore heartily abused by professors of fine writing. One of them, who writes about *sequacious diathesis*, reviles the Archbishop as 'a contortionist and a fantast.' I have seen it affirmed that our language is healthily developing itself, when every penny-a-liner scatters broadcast his bad grammar and newfangled French phrases, without giving one thought to the writings of Defoe, Swift, and Fielding!

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

TABLE OF INTERCHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

ANY one who compares the kindred Sanscrit and English words, given at pages 3 and 4, will see a close connection, according to Grimm's Law, between the following sounds:—

Sanscrit.	*English.*	*Sanscrit.*	*English.*
bh	b	t	th
p	f	gh	g
dh	d	g (j)	c, k
d	t	k	h

It is needless to insist on the fact that the lip-sounds, *b*, *p*, *f* (*v*), are closely linked together.[1] This also holds true of the tooth-sounds, *d*, *t*, *th*; and of the throat-sounds, *g*, *c* (*k*), *h*.

But it is easy to see that one of these three different groups of sounds will often get confused with another group. When we hear a child say 'I tan do' for 'I can go,' we see at once that there is a link between *t* and *c*, *d* and *g*; the child observes Grimm's Law with never failing exactness; moreover, he shows the connection between the Latin *cumulus* and *tumulus*. What we call *ruff* (rough) is sounded in some parts of Scotland like *rokh*, from the back of the throat; here we see a further link between *k* and *f*. Our verb *duck* must come from the old *dyppan*. Thus the throat-sounds touch the lip-sounds on the one hand, the tooth-sounds on the other. There is also a direct connection between the tooth-sounds and the lip-sounds, for *Theodore* becomes *Feodor* in Russian. These facts explain the different forms of the English words given at page 31. In the Greek dialects *pisures* and *tetores* may be compared (as to their first letters) with the Irish *ceathair*, all three words having the same meaning, that of our English (fethower) *four*. The like may be seen

[1] Pope Pius IX. uses the form *servare* (keep) in a Bull; but when he speaks to a servant, he calls it *serbare*.

in the last consonants of *pente, kinke* (quinque), *pump* (Welsh), answering to our English *five.* So *slip, slide,* and *slick.*

The liquids *l, n,* and *r,* are always running into each other. What Virgil called *Anagnia,* Dante writes *Alagni. Bononia* has become *Bologna,* and *Panormus* is now *Palermo. Dyderian* has got corrupted into *diddle* (see page 75), and *altare* into *autel.* The Latin *homines* in Spain became *homres,* and then *hombres*; *diaconus* in French became *diacre*; the Gothic *fon* is our *fire.*

The liquid *m* has a tendency to get confused with *n,* as *mappa, nappe*; *dama, daine*; *semita, sente*; *rem, rien.* The old *æmete* has given birth to *ant.*

There is also a close tie between *m* and *b* (see page 15). The High German *b* answers to the English *f* (*lieber* to *liefer*) in the middle of a word; hence our *heofen* (heaven) must once in German have been *heben* or *hibel*; it is now *himmel.* So *sabbati dies* has become *samedi.*

L and *d* interchange; the Greek *dakru* is the Latin *lacruma,* and the Greek *deka* is the Lithuanian *lika*; *dingua* is the older form of *lingua.*

There is a connection between *r* and *s,* as in the Latin *honos* and *honor,* or the cries *huzzah* and *hurrah*; the Sanscrit *asmi* must have once been *armi* in English mouths, as we see by the Second Person, *thou art*; the Primitive Aryan *asanti* became *aranti,* in English our *are* (sunt). The words *was* (eram) and *were* (erant) belong to one and the same tense.

There is a connection between *s* and *t*; *th,* that peculiarly English sound, seems to stand half way between them. When a Frenchman pronounces our word *thing,* he will sometimes call it *ting,* sometimes *sing.* The Southern English *walwiath* is akin alike to the Latin *volvit* and to the Northern English *walwias* (he wallows). We know the Greek forms *tasso* and *tatto.* The Low German *t* becomes *s* or *z* in High German; thus our primitive *to, toll, token,* become at Dresden *zu, zoll, zeichen.*

The *c* or *k,* on the Continent, slid into *ch* before the year 900; *chief* for *caput* is found in the Song of St. Eulalie, and the Latin *Kikero* is now pronounced in Italy *Chichero.* Sometimes the *ch,* both in English and French, went on further

and became *j*; as *capella* becomes *javelle*, and the verb *ceowan* becomes *jaw*. So the Sanscrit *j* has replaced a far older Aryan *g*.

In the Teutonic tongues *g* was early softened into *y*; our *gear* (annus) began with *y* in Gothic. In the Twelfth Century the English *g* very often became *w*, though this is traceable much earlier; the Sanscrit *gharma* is the English *warm*; the Celtic *gosper* is the Latin *vesper*, pronounced something like *uesper*.

There is a close connection between *v* and *w*; see the Sanscrit words at pages 3 and 4. The Latin *v*, as in *volvo*, must have been pronounced very like our English *w*; and it is the same with the Scandinavian *v*. Our *hwæt* (quid) has become in vulgar London speech *wot*, and this is sometimes heard as *vot*. The most refined Germans have done something like this last with their grand old *w*.

I have here given but few instances of the curious interchange of consonants; any one that reads Bopp's 'Comparative Grammar' with due heed may find therein scores of other examples in the different Aryan tongues, and may work out the subject for himself. M. Brachet's French Grammar supplies many examples.[1]

[1] In Chapter I. it will be remarked that I have not always accented the Old English. In this respect I simply follow the author I am copying.

CHAPTER II.

NORTHERN ENGLISH, 680–1000.
EARLY CORRUPTIONS, 1000–1120.

THE examples given in the last Chapter have been mostly taken from Wessex writers; but Cadmon's Alliterative lines on the Deluge remind us that in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries there was no Teutonic land that could match Northumbria in learning or civilisation. Thither had come earnest missionaries from Italy and Ireland. There Christianity had taken fast root, and had bred such men as Cadmon and Bede. Charlemagne himself, the foremost of all Teutons, was glad to welcome to his court Alcuin, who came from beyond the Humber. It was the dialect of Northumbria, settled as that land was by Angles, that first sprang into notice, and was so much in favour, that even the West Saxons on the Thames called their speech *English*; a fact never to be forgotten by students of our Mother-tongue.

This English of the North, or Northumbrian, has bequeathed to us but few monuments, owing to the ravages of the Danes in the Northern libraries. We have, however, enough of it left to see that in some points it kept far closer to the old Aryan Mother Speech

than the classical writers of Wessex did; thus, it boasts the remnants of five verbs in *mi—am*, *beôm* (sum), *geseôm* (video), *fleôm* (fugio), *gedôm* (facio). But in other points it foreshadows the language to be spoken in Queen Victoria's day more clearly than these same writers of Wessex did.

In tracing the history of Standard English, it is mainly on Northumbria that we must keep our eyes. About the year 680, a stone cross was set up at Ruthwell, not far from Dumfries; and the Runes graven upon it enshrine an English poem written by no mean hand. Cadmon, the great Northumbrian bard, had compiled a noble lay on the Crucifixion, a lay which may still be read at full length in its Southern English dress of the Tenth Century. Forty lines or so of the earlier poem of the Seventh Century were engraven upon the Ruthwell Cross; some of these I give in my Appendix, as the lay is the earliest English that we possess just as it was written.[1] It has old forms of English nowhere else found; and it clearly appeals to the feelings of a warlike race, hardly yet out of the bonds of heathenism; the old tales of Balder are applied to Christ, who is called 'the young hero.'

Mr. Kemble in 1840 translated the Ruthwell Runes, which up to that time had never unlocked their secret; not long afterwards he had the delight of seeing them in their later Southern dress, on their being published

[1] 'Cadmon mœ fauæþo' (not *Cædmon*) is the inscription lately discovered on the cross; and this confirms a guess made long ago by Mr. Haigh. Mr. Stephens assigns the noble fragment of the Judith to the great bard of the North.

from an old English skinbook at Vercelli. He found that he had only three letters of his translation to correct. Seldom has there been such a hit and such a confirmation of a hit.[1]

These Ruthwell Runes are in close agreement with the dying words of Bede, the few English lines embedded in the Latin text. In the Runes, the letter *k* is found, which did not appear in Southern English until two centuries later. The word *ungcet*, the Dual Accusative, betokens the hoariest eld. The Infinitive ends not in the Southern *an*, but in *a*, like the old Norse and Friesic. The *n*, with which the Plural of the Southern Imperfect ended, has been clipped. There is a curious softening of the guttural *h* in *ælmihtiga* (almighty); the word is here written *almeyottig*.[2]

The speech of the men who conquered Northumbria in the Sixth Century must have been influenced by their Danish neighbours of the mainland. I give a few words from the Ruthwell Cross, compared with King Alfred's Southern English :—

Southern.	*Ruthwell.*
Heofenas	Heafunæs
Stigan	Stiga
Gewundod	Giwundæd
Eal	Al[3]
On gealgan	On galgu

[1] *Archæologia for* 1843, p. 31.

[2] I can give a much earlier instance of the softening of the guttural. *Kudurlagamar* was a famous Assyrian name, (Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 223). We know that it afterwards appears as *Chedorlaomer*.

[3] We follow the North, which is more primitive than the South,

The English *ðider* (thither) answered to the Latin *illuc*; but here we find this word translated by *ðer*. So general has this corruption become, that to say, 'whither are you going?' would now be thought pedantic. *Hwær* replaces *hwider* in the Blickling Homilies, which seems to be another Northern work.

The next specimen given by me in my Appendix, is about sixty years later than the Ruthwell Runes. It is another fragment of Cadmon's, which was modernized two hundred years after his time by King Alfred. But the text from which I quote is referred by Wanley, a good judge, to the year A.D. 737. I set down here those words which are nearer to the language spoken in our days than Alfred's version is—

Southern.	*Northern.*	*Modern.*
Fæder	Fadur	Father
Swa	Sue	So
Gescéop	Scop	Shaped
Bearnum	Barnum	Bairns
Þa	Tha	The
Weard	Uard	Ward

The word 'til' (to), unknown in Southern speech, is found in this old manuscript, and is translated 'to' by Alfred. The modern *Th* here first appears for the good old character that our unwisdom has allowed to drop. The whole of the manuscript is in Northern English, such as it was spoken before the Danes overran the land.[1]

in pronouncing this word. But in Dorset they still sound the *e* before *a*, as in *yacre*, *yale*, *yarm*, and others. See Mr. Barnes' Poems.

[1] Bosworth, *Origin of the Germanic Languages*, pp. 56–60.

One great mark of the North is, that *a* appears as *è*, pronounced like the French *ê*; the English *brâd* (latus) was in Gothic *braid*.

The next earliest Northumbrian monument that we have is a Psalter, which may date from about the year A.D. 850. It is thought to have been translated in one of the shires just south of the Humber.[1] This Psalter, like the former specimen, employs *a* instead of the Southern *ea*, even as we ourselves do. There are many other respects in which the Psalter differs from later English; the chief is, that the first Person Singular of the verb ends, like the Latin, in *o* or *u*: as *sitto*, I sit; *ondredu*, I fear. The Second Person ends in *s*, not *st*; as *nevsas*, thou visitest; less corrupt than King Alfred's form. The Lowland Scotch to this day say, *thou knows*. The prefix *ge* in Past Participles is often dropped, as *bledsad*, blessed, instead of *gebletsod*. Old Anglian was nearer than any other Low German speech to Danish, and *ge* is not found in the Danish Participle. The old *h*, coming before a liquid, is sometimes cast out; *roeð* (rough) replaces the Southern *hrêðe*. We also remark the Norse *earun* for *sumus, estis, sunt*; this in Southern speech is nearly always *syndon*.[2] I give a few words from this Psalter, to show that our modern English in many things follows the Northern rather than the Southern form.[3]

[1] Rushworth Gospels, iv. (Surtees Society), *Prolegomena*, cix.

[2] We find, however, *aran* in Kentish Charters (Kemble, I. 234), and the form *ic biddo* in the oldest Charters of Kent and Worcestershire.

[3] See an extract from the Psalter in my Appendix.

Southern English.	*Northern English.*	*Modern.*
Bën	Boen	Boon (prayer)
Béc	Boec	Books
Célan	Coelan	Cool
Déman	Doeman	Doom[1]
Leoht	Leht	Light
Fram	From	From
Wæron	Werun	Were
Nawiht	Nowihte	Nought[1]
Feldas	Feldes	Fields
Twa	Tu	Two
Syndrig	Syndrie	Sundry
Margen	Marne	Morn
Eage	Ege	Eye
Sealt	Salt	Salt
Hebbe	Hefe	Heave
Hefig	Hefie	Heavy
Arison	Ariosun	Arose
Slepon	Slypton	Slept
Swa hwylce swa	Swe hwet	Whatso
Dêst	Gedoest	Doest
Fêt	Foedeð	Feedeth
He yt	He iteð	He eateth
Tyn	Ten	Ten
Treow	Tre	Tree
Getimbrod	Timbred	Timbered

As to this Psalter, we may repeat a former remark, that the sound of English vowels in the North was very different from what was usual in the South. We see here *cweceð*, *ferian*, our *quake*, *fare*, which on the Thames were written *cwaceð*, *faran*. *Frio* and *hwiol* are written for the Southern *freo* and *hweol*, our *free* and *wheel*. We

[1] We still have both the Northern and Southern forms of this word.

must pronounce all these old vowels as the French would now. Our modern pronunciation has mainly come from the North; and this becomes very clear about the year 1290. Still, while pronouncing in the Northern way, we have often kept the old Southern spelling of words; and this has caused our pronunciation of vowels to be so different from that used by other nations.

The writer who Englished the Latin words, one by one, in this Psalter, must needs have been struck by the close tie between the two tongues, more especially in the following words, which are but a small sample of what might be given:—

Latin.	*English.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Sedet	Siteð	Simul	Somud
Regit	Receð	Semper	Symble
Tegit	Þeceð	Duo	Tu
Genuit	Cende	Vir	Wer
Pisces	Fiscas[1]	Vidua	Widwa[2]

So the Goths were able to put *whas is þu* for the Latin *quis es tu*. . .

Sometimes the North of England kept far nearer to Aryan purity than did the South; thus *feoður* (in Gothic, *fidwor*) is found in this Psalter for the primitive Aryan *katvar*, instead of the usual *feower*, our *four*. On

[1] Since 1000 England and Italy alike have changed the sound of *sc* into *sh*.

[2] It is very possible that the English scribe might think that his own commonest words were *derived* from the Latin; I know that for many years of my life I thought that our *long* came from *longus*. Let us hope that a better system of education obtains now throughout our land; perhaps in years to come our dictionary makers will cease to *derive* our 'he is man' from Anglo-Saxon 'he is man.'

the other hand, corruption was plainly at work in the North. The Plural Perfect of the verb *wyrce* was, in the South *wrohton*, our *wrought*; but this, in the Psalter, II. p. 183, is turned into *wyrctun*. The encroachment upon the Perfects of verbs has been going on ever since; the Weak *slypton*, as marked above, has replaced the Strong *slepon*. Within the last few years, I see that some writers, who should know better, put *mowed* and *sowed* instead of *mown* and *sown*.

The Scotch are well known for their love of vowels and dislike of consonants; with them *all wool* becomes *a oo*, and in this Psalter, I. p. 126, we find *amplius* translated by *mee*, not by the Southern *már*: *mo* is seen in the Sermons of Lever, a Northern man, and is still used by our poets for *more*.

In I. p. 68, we see the Neuter *ðis* (hoc) employed for other Genders, just as we use it now; *ðes* was of old the Masculine, and *ðeos* the Feminine. This is an early instance of a Northern corruption.

In the Psalter, II. page 144, *descendero* is Englished by *dune stigu*; this first word was elsewhere written *ofdune*, our *adown*, which the poets still keep alive. Clipping and paring usually began in the North.

There is now no commoner English word than *bread*; I think it first appears in the phrase *bio-bread*, for *honeycomb*, in the Psalter, I. p. 52. *Panis* was Englished by *hlaf* in the South down to the year 1100.

We here see both *cnol* and *hnol* for what we call a *knoll*; the *h* before *l*, *n*, or *r*, is always struck out (the process was now beginning), while the *c* or *k* similarly placed, is allowed to remain at the beginning of modern

English words. Both *c* and *h* had a guttural sound, but this was probably more marked in *c* than in *h*. We have now nothing answering to the German *Hlodwig*, where the *h* was pronounced in the Fifth Century with such force as to be rendered *Clovis*, not *Lovis*. But in the Chronicle for 1050, a well-known English name appears as *Hrodbert*.

We find *no* used just as the Scotch now use it; *gif ic no foresettu*, where *na* would, as a general rule, have been used in the South.

A new element in English speech now comes into play. Rather before the time that the Northumbrian Psalter was compiled, the Danes began to harry unhappy England. The feuds of near kinsmen are always the bitterest; and this we found true in the Ninth Century. Soon the object of the heathen became settlement in the land, and not merely plunder. The whole of England would have fallen under their yoke, had not a hero come forth from the Somersetshire marshes.

In A.D. 876, we read in the Saxon Chronicle that the Danish king, 'Norðhymbra land gedælde, and hergende weron and heora tiligende wæron.'[1] In the next year, the outlandish host 'gefor on Myrcena land, 'and hit gedældon sum.' In 880, 'for se here on East-ængle and geset þat land and gedælde.' Here we find

[1] At the head of the Yarrow is a mountain, called of old by the Celtic name Ben Yair. To this the Romans prefixed their Mont, and the Danes long afterwards added their word Law. The hill is now called Mountbenjerlaw; in it *hill* comes three times over.—Garnett's *Essays*, p. 70.

many English shires, once thriving and civilised, parcelled out within four years among the Danes. The Angles were now under the yoke of those who four hundred years earlier had been their neighbours on the mainland. Essex seems to have been the only Saxon shire that Alfred had to yield to the foreigner. Now it was that the Orms, Grims, Spils, Osgods, and Thors, who have left such abiding traces of themselves in Eastern Mercia and Northumbria, settled among us. They gave their own names of Whitby and Derby to older English towns, and changed the name of Roman Eboracum from Eoforwic to Iorvik or York.[1]

The endings *by*, *thwaite*, *ness*, *drop*, *haugh*, and *garth*, are the sure tokens of the great Danish settlement in England; fifteen hundred of such names are still to be found in our North-Eastern shires. The six counties to the North of Mercia have among them 246 places that end in *by*; Lincolnshire, the great Danish stronghold, has 212; Leicestershire has 66; Northamptonshire 26; Norfolk and Notts have rather fewer.

The Danes were even strong enough to force their preposition *amell* (inter) upon Northumberland, where it still lingers. Our verbs *bask* and *busk* are Middle Verbs, compounded of the Icelandic *baka* and *bua* with the ending *sik* (self).[2] York and Lincoln were the great seats of Norse influence, as we see by the numbers of Norse

[1] Layamon, I. p. 113, relates these changes. According to him, the town was first called Kaer Ebrauc; then Eborac; then foreigners called it Eoverwic; and the Northern men by a bad habit called it Ȝeorc.

[2] Dr. Morris was the first to point this out.

money-coiners who are known to have there plied their trade. English freedom was in the end the gainer by the fresh blood that now flowed in. When Doomsday Book was compiled, no shire could vie with that of Lincoln in the thousands of its freeholders; East Anglia was not far behind.[1] Danish surnames like Anderson, Paterson, and, greater than all, Nelson, show the good blood that our Northern and Eastern shires can boast. Thor's day was in the end to replace Thunresday. Another Norse God, he of the sea, bearing the name of Egir, still rushes up English rivers like the Trent and the Witham, the water rising many feet: the *eagre* is a word well known in Lincolnshire. The Norse *felagi* is a compound from *fee* and *lay*, a man who puts down his money, like the member of a club. This became in England *felaȝe*, *felawe*, *fellow*. So early as 1300 it had become a term of scorn; but the fellows of our Colleges will always keep alive the more honourable meaning of the word.

Few of England's children have done her better service than Alfred's son and daughter, whose deeds are written in the Saxon Chronicle. King Edward's reign was one steady war against the Danish lords of Mercia and East Anglia; the strife raged all along the line between London and Shrewsbury, the King's men throwing up works to guard the shires they were winning back foot by foot. Essex seems to have been mastered in 913, Staffordshire and Warwickshire within the next few years. In 915, the Danish rulers of Bed-

[1] Worsaae, *The Danes and Northmen*, pp. 71, 119, 170.

ford and Northampton gave their allegiance to the great King of Wessex; Derby and Leicester fell before his sister. The Norsemen struggled hard against Edward's iron bit; but the whole of East Anglia and Cambridge yielded to him in 921. By the end of the following year, he was master of Stamford and Nottingham; Lincolnshire seems to have been the last of his conquests. In 924, all the English, Danes, and Celts in our island chose Edward, the champion of Christianity against heathenism, for their Father and Lord. England, as we see, was speedily becoming something more than a geographical name.

Alfred had been King of the South; Alfred's son had won the Midland; Alfred's grandsons were now to bring the North under their yoke. The Danes drove the many quarrelsome English kingdoms into unity in sheer self-defence; much as in our own time the Austrians helped Italy to become one nation. The Saxon Chronicle in 941 names the Five Danish Burghs which overawed Mercia, and which have had so great an influence on the tongue now spoken by us.

Burga fife	And Snotingahâm
Ligoraceaster	Swylce Stanford eâc
And Lincolne	And Deoraby

Long had these been in Danish thraldom; they were now, as the old English ballad of the day says, loosed by Edward's son. Northumberland, under her Danish kings, was still holding out against the Southern Overlord. At length, in 954, the last of these kings dropped out of history; and, Eadred, the son of Edward and the

grandson of Alfred, became the one King of all England, swaying the land from the Frith of Forth to the English Channel.[1]

Wessex, it is easy to see, was to our island much what Piedmont long afterwards became to Italy, and Brandenburg to Germany. It is not wonderful then that in the Tenth Century the literature of Wessex was looked upon as the best of models, and took the place of the Northumbrian literature of Bede's time. Good English prose-writers must have formed themselves upon King Alfred; English 'shapers' or 'makers' must have imitated the lofty lay, that tells how Alfred's grandsons smote Celt and Dane alike on the great day of Brunanburgh. The Court of Winchester must in those days have been to England what Paris has nearly always been to France: no such pattern of elegance could elsewhere have been found. For all that, were I to be given my choice as to what buried specimen of English writing should be brought to light, I should ask for a sample of the Rutland peasantry's common talk about the year that Eadred was calling himself Kaiser of all Britain.[2] Such a sample would be as precious as the bad Latin, the foretaste of the New Italian, which may be read on the walls of Pompeii. By Eadred's time, two or three gene-

[1] Eadred was like King Victor Emmanuel, who has no underkings below him; Eadred's father was like Kaiser William.

[2] Kemble's *Charters*, II. 304. Little did I think, when writing thus in 1873, that three years later this title would be referred to by grave statesmen, as a reason for bestowing a new title upon Queen Victoria.

rations of Danes and Angles must have been mingled together; the uncouth dialect, woefully shorn of inflections, spoken in the markets of Leicester and Stamford, would be found to foreshadow the corruptions of the Peterborough Chronicle after 1120.

The country, falling within a radius of twenty miles drawn from the centre of Rutland, would be acknowledged, I think, as the cradle of the New English that we now speak. To go further afield; all the land enclosed within a line drawn round from the Humber through Doncaster, Derby, Ashby, Rugby, Northampton, Bedford, and Colchester (this may be called the Mercian Danelagh) helped mightily in forming the new literature: within this boundary were the Five Burghs, and the other Danish strongholds already named. Just outside this boundary was Yorkshire, which has also had its influence upon our tongue. Alfred's grandsons, on their way home to Winchester from their Northern fields, would have been much astonished, could it have been foretold to them that the Five Burghs, so lately held by the heathen, were to have the shaping of England's future speech. This New English, hundreds of years later, was to be handled by men, who would throw into the far background even such masterpieces of the Old English as the Beowulf and the Judith.

Some writers, I see, upbraid the French conquerors of England for bereaving us of our old inflections; it would be more to the purpose to inveigh against the great Danish settlement two hundred years before William's landing. What happened in Northumbria and Eastern Mercia will always take place when two kindred

tribes are thrown together. An intermingling either of Irish with Welsh, or of French with Spaniards, or of Poles with Bohemians, would break up the old inflections and grammar of each nation, if there were no acknowledged standard of national speech whereby the tide of corruption might be stemmed.

When such an intermingling takes place, the endings of the Verb and the Substantive are not always caught, and therefore speedily drop out of the mouths of the peasantry. In our own day this process may be seen going on in the United States. Thousands of Germans settle there, mingle with English-speakers, and thus corrupt their native German. They keep their own words indeed, but they clip the heads and tails of these words, as the Dano-Anglians did many hundred years ago.

About the year 950 another work was compiled in Northern English, the Lindisfarne Gospels.[1] It has some forms older than those of the Beowulf; it has other forms more corrupt than those used by Roy, about 1530. I give specimens of words, taken from these Gospels, side by side with the corresponding Wessex terms.

Southern English.	*Northern English.*	*Modern English.*
Se	Ðe	The
Hi	Ða	They
Hyra	Ðæra	Their
Hi	Hia	Her
An þæra	An of ðæm	One of them
Eom	Am	Am
Eart	Art	Art
Ge synt	Aro gie	Are ye

[1] See a specimen of these in my Appendix.

Southern English.	*Northern English.*	*Modern English.*
Na mara	Noht mara	Not more
Cildru	Cildes	Children
Burgwaru	Burguaras	Burghers
Fæder willan	Faderes willo	Father's will
Axode	Ascade	Asked
Breost	Brest	Breast
Sunu	Sona	Son
Leofaþ	Lifes	Lives (vivit)
Bohton	Bochten	Bought
Gemang	Inmong	Among
Begeondan	Beyeonda	Beyond
Betweonan	Bituien	Between
Beforan	Before	Before
Clæn-heortan	Claene of hearte	Clean of heart
Eorthan sealt	Eorthes salt	Earth's salt
Gewefen	Gewoefen	Woven
Ic secge eow	Ic cueðo iuh to	Quoth I to you
Hwitne gedon	Huit geuirce	To make white
Magon ge	Maga gie	May ye
Dearr	Darr	Dare
Getimbrode	Getimberde	Timbered (built)
Burh	Burug	Borough
Cwæð	Cuoeð	Quoth
Feoh	Feh	Fee
Cymð	Cymmes	Comes
Fynd	Fiondas	Fiends
Don	Doa	Do (facere)
Hund	Hundrid	Hundred
Awriten be	Awritten of	Written of (de)
Ge dydon	Gie dide	Ye did
He sitt	He sittes	He sits
Fulle bana	Fulla mið banum	Full of bones
Seoc	Sek	Sick
We doð	We doe	We do
Deð	Does	Does
Bycgeð	Byeð	Buyeth

Southern English.	*Northern English.*	*Modern English.*
Losiað	Loseð	Loseth
Nigontig	Neantih	Ninety
Feower	Feor	Four
Fixas	Fisces	Fishes
Feorr	Farra	Far
Gesewen	Geseen	Seen
Spillde	Spild	Spilt (Perfect)
Lætra	Lattera	Latter
Unbindað	Unbinde	Unbind (solvite)
Ge biddað	Gie bidde	Ye bid
Becn	Becon	Beacon
Tacn	Tacon	Token
Ic hæbbe	Ic hafo	I have
Sunnadæg	Sunnedæ	Sunday
We drifon	We driofon	We drove
Duru	Dor	Door
Gescy	Scoeas	Shoes
Ðeah	Ðæch	Though
Cuppa	Copp	Cup
Lyre	Lose	Loss (jactura)
Eaþelicre	Eaður	Easier
Slæpð	Slepes	Sleeps
Wyrhta	Wercmonn	Workman
Swurd	Suord	Sword
Drige	Dryia	Dry
Muð twegra oððe þreora gewitnesse	Muð tuoe oððe ðrea witnesa	Mouth of two or three witnesses
Heonon	Hena	Hence
Ðriwa	Ðriga	Thrice
Ðrydda	Ðirda	Third
Bryd	Bird	Bird

The Norsemen, breathing fire and slaughter, have for ever branded, as we see, their mark upon England's tongue. Northern English had become very corrupt since the year 800; as I before said, the intermingling

of two kindred tribes, like the Angles and Danes, must tend to shear away the endings of Nouns and Verbs. The Third Persons, both Singular and Plural, of the Present tense now often end in *s* instead of *th*, as *he onsæces*; we follow the North in daily life, but we listen to the Southern form when we go to Church. The ð of the Imperative also becomes *s*, as *wyrcas* instead of *wyrcað*; indeed, the *as* is sometimes clipped altogether. New idioms crop up, which would have astonished King Alfred; we find *full of fiscum* for *plenus piscium*. The Old English Plural of nouns in *an* is now changed, and *hearta* replaces *heartan*; sad havock is made in all the other cases. The Genitive Singular and Nominative Plural in *es* swallow up the other forms. Thus we came back to the old Aryan pattern, in all but a few plurals like *oxen*; there is a wrong notion abroad that the German Plural in *en* is more venerable than the English Plural in *es*. Such newfangled Genitives Singular as *sterres*, *brydgumes*, *heartes*, *tunges*, *fadores*, and such Nominative Plurals as *stearras*, *burgas*, and *culfras*, are now found. There is a tendency to confound Definite with Indefinite Adjectives. The Dative Plural in *um* is sometimes dropped. In short, we see the foreshadowing of the New English forms. The South, where the Danes could never gain a foothold, held fast to the old speech; and some *forms* of King Alfred's time, now rather corrupted, linger on to this day in Dorset and Somerset; though these shires are not so rich in old *words* as Lothian is. The North, overrun by the Danes, was losing its inflections not long after Alfred's death; the East Midland must have been in the same plight.

As to the spelling of the Lindisfarne Gospels, we find the *e* doubled, as in *geseen*; we further see two new combinations, *ai* and *ei*, which were to be wide spread in later English. These, like the Southern *æ*, *ea*, and *ie*, had the sound of the French *é*.[1] There is also *au*, as in King Alfred, for the more common *aw*; *ou* sometimes replaces *ow*, having the sound of the broad Italian *u*: a fashion that was to spread wide in the Thirteenth Century. We find vowels often doubled; there is *oo* as well as *ee*. The Southern *feower* (pronounced like *fewer*) is now seen as *feor*, not far from *for*, as we now pronounce the word for *quatuor*.

That change of sounds, which has influenced our later speech, may be clearly seen in these Northern Gospels.[2] *Tamian* becomes *temma*, *stanas* becomes *stœnas*, *wa* is *wæ*. *Hér* (hic) is seen as *hir*, *sceap* (ovis) as *scip*. *Tæhte* (docuit) is found as *tahte*, our *taught*; *ælmessan* becomes *almissa*, our *alms*. Many other such instances could be given; the word *reu* (rue) is in our days sounded as if it was written *ru* (our roo); the old *eu* or *eow* always is sounded like *u*, if it follows *r*. So in these Gospels the Southern *lareow* is written *laruu*. We must look to the Northern shires for the first traces of our present pronunciation.

We know the old controversy about Home and Hume in the last century; the *o* and the *u* have indeed been

[1] We here see *ðeignas* written for the Plural of the Southern word *þægen*; this shows how easily the foreign word *reign* long afterward took root in England.

[2] All the words that follow must be pronounced as the French would do now.

much confused in later English, and we here find both *pol* and *pul*, the Welsh *pwl*, our *pool*. *Heo* (illa) is here seen as *hiu*; hence the Lancashire *hoo*, so well known to Mrs. Gaskell's readers.

As to consonants, the Southern *h* is often turned into the hard *ch*; *hwæt* becomes *chuæd*; the kindred Latin *quid*, which was the word translated, seems to have suggested the *d* at the end of this Northumbrian word. So the Latin *rectas* is sometimes Englished by *rectas*, and not by the proper *rihtas*; the likeness between the two tongues *must* in many a word have forced itself upon any shrewd translator's mind, as I said before. To this day, in the Scotch Lowlands, words like *right* or *night* may be heard sounded with a strong guttural in the middle, as in German. In these Gospels, *iuch* is sometimes written for *iuh* (vos).

There is another imitation of the Latin in St. Luke xxii. 39, where *Olivarum* is Englished by *Olebearua*, as if the *varum* answered to our word *barrow*. Alfred in the South reversed this process, for he turned *Abner* into *Æfnere*.

There are strong hints of Danish influence; thus *ulf* is sometimes written for *wulf*, and the Old English *seofoða* (septimus) is seen as *seofunda*: here the *n* and *d* come from Scandinavia. The Danish Active Participle is often used instead of the Old English, as *gangande* for *gangende*; and this long lingered in Scotland. Our foreign invaders, in this instance, brought English nearer to Sanscrit than it was before.

Our *tear* is here seen in the very old form, *teher*, the Gothic *tagr* and the Greek *dakru*.

In the above instance, we have caught one of the last traces of the Old; I now afford one of the first glimpses of the New. In St. Matthew, xxv. 24, the Southern Gospels give for the Latin *seminasti* the true old form of the Second Person Singular of the Strong Perfect, *seowe*; this, in the Lindisfarne Gospels, takes an *s* at the end, as if it belonged to a Weak Verb, and becomes *ðu sawes*, 'thou *sowedest*,' and in St. Luke xix. 21 it is seen as *ðu gesauadesd*. This corruption made very slow way in England; even down to the Reformation we see the old form; and when that was unhappily lost, one of the most remarkable links between English and Sanscrit was snapped for ever.[1]

There is another instance of the same corruption in St. Luke xiv. 22, where *imperasti* is Englished by *ðu gehehtes*; the last word would, in the South, have had no *s* at the end.

In St. Luke, vii. 32, the Strong Perfect *weopon* (plorastis) is replaced by the Weak form *gie wœpde*, our *ye wept*. This process we saw beginning in the Psalter.

I have already pointed out the close tie between the letters *s* and *r*. In these Gospels they were becoming confused; in St. Luke, xv. 9, *perdideram* is Englished by both *forleas* and *forlure*.

The first instance of another corruption may be seen in St. Matthew ii. 9, (*locus,*) *ubi erat puer*; the *ubi* was always *þœr* in Old English, but we now see it translated by *hwer* as well as *þer*. What led to the change is seen in St. John xii. 26; *ubi* is there Englished by *sua huer*,

[1] See how the Strong Verb should be conjugated at p. 25.

our *whereso*: this in the South would have been *swa hwær swa*. In the same way, as time went on, the relative *that* was replaced by the corrupt *what*. We have a remnant of the true Old English in *take that thine is*, though we look in vain for the similar *stay there thou art*.

Another startling change comes in St. Matt. xviii. 21, reminding us of Cicero's *Habeo dicere*. The old *âgan* (making its Second Person Singular of the Present, *þu âge*) meant no more than *possidere*, and this old sense lasted beyond the year 1600, as in Shakespeare's 'the noblest grace she owed.' But in the above Gospel text, *ðu aht to geldanne* is employed to English the Latin *debes*; *habes solvere*. This *aht*, replacing the rightful *âge*, is the parent of our *ought*; a most useful auxiliary verb, which now stands for nearly all the Persons, Singular and Plural, of the Present and Past tenses alike of *âgan*. We have here, I think, the earliest instance of an English word sliding into a new meaning before our eyes; we shall meet with many other examples of this. Rather later, the verb with its new sense is found in King Canute's laws, and afterwards in the Chronicle for the year 1070. The kindred Scandinavian verb *eiga* may have had some influence in effecting the change of meaning here.

The Latin *ave* was Englished in the South by *hal wæs þu*, the first word being an adjective. In the North, the verb was dropped; for in St. Matt. xxvii. 29 *ave* becomes simply *hal*, our *hail*; the Scandinavian *heill* is used like this.

Our language is all the richer, since it comes from

different sources. We now use *on* and *in* with different senses, but it was not so of old. We follow these Northern Gospels when we talk of having life *in* the Scriptures; the Southern men substituted *on* for the *in*.

We know that *while* is now used in Yorkshire for the French *jusqu'a ce que*, not for the French *pendant que*; as in 'stay while I come.' In St. Matt. xxiv. 34 *ða hwile* is used for our modern *till* in the phrase 'till all these things be fulfilled.' This usage is often found in these Lindisfarne Gospels.

Our *hwilum* (whilom) for *quondam* is first found in St. Luke xxiii. 19; it stood commonly for *aliquando*, like the Scotch *whiles*.

In the South, the First Person Singular of the Perfect was kept distinct from its Plural brother; as *ic fand* (inveni), *we fundon*. In the North our present way of jumbling the two together was foreshadowed about nine hundred years ago; *fund ic* comes in St. Matt. viii. 10. In xiv. 30, the Glosser writes both *ongann* and *ongunne* over the same Latin verb.

We have already seen *bio bræd* for *favus*; but in St. John vi. 23 we see the first use of *bread* for *panis*. This comes again in the Rushworth Gospels; the old *hlaf* by degrees made way for the new term.

Cove is seen in the glossary to Scott's Novels as a Northern term for a cave; *cofa*, with this sense, is found in these Gospels. There is another English word, *hof*, meaning the same, which seems to be the nearest akin of all to the Latin *cavus*, according to established rules.

The Latin *agere pœnitentiam* had a most lofty sense

in St. Jerome's time, expressing an act of the mind, since he uses it of God Himself. In Italy, *penitenza* (a curious instance of the degradation of words), now rises no higher than a bodily act, done in atonement for sin. Before the year 1000 *pœnitentia* had acquired the more debased meaning, at least in the South of England, since it is there translated by *dæd-bote*; but in the North it seems to have kept its nobler sense, for there it was Englished by *hreonisse, ruefulness*, (St. Matt. iii. 2). Long afterwards, Wickliffe and Coverdale went wrong in Englishing *pœnitentia* by *penance*, while Tyndale, a far better scholar, whom we follow, hit upon the right word for the Greek *metanoia*.

Our *peak* is commonly derived from the French; but in St. Luke's account of our Lord's temptation, *pinna templi* was Englished in 950 by *hornpic temples*.

In St. Matt. xiv. 13, *pedestres* (in this Version alone) is translated by *foeðemenn*. The word 'footman' does not appear again until about 1300, in the Alexander.

In the same Gospel, xxiv. 22, *omnis caro* is translated, not in our literal way, but by *eghuelc lichoma*. This last word (the Latin *corpus*) gives us the first hint as to how our *everybody* and *nobody* arose.[1]

In the same book, ix. 20, *sanguinis fluxus* becomes *blodes flouing*; the last word was never used in the South. The *ing* at the end of words was in time to supplant *ung*, and the change is often foreshadowed in these Gospels. It is to Northern England that we mainly owe our Verbal Nouns in *ing*, as we shall see

[1] Lye, as quoted by Bosworth, says that *lîc* stands for the dead body, *lîchama* for the living body.

when perusing her monuments of the Thirteenth Century.

We sometimes hear the phrase 'to *chop* and change.' The first of these verbs is found in St. Luke xix. 15, where *negotiatus esset* is Englished by *geceopad were*. This seems more akin to the Scandinavian *kaupa* than to the Southern phrase *ceápan*, whence come *cheap* and *chapman*. Our verb *job* seems to come from this *chop*.

The Latin phrase cited above carries the mind to the English *bisignisse*, which translates *sollicitudo*, at page 15 of Hardwick's Versions of St. Matthew; Mr. Earle wishes to derive our *business* (negotium) from the French *besoingnes*. I am loth to yield up so thoroughly national a word to the foreigner; and I would suggest that there is but little difference in the meaning of *negotium* and *sollicitudo*. Either of them would express the *cares* of this life, a well-known Scriptural phrase. We still say 'I made it my business,' that is, 'my care;' just as Wickliffe wrote, *zyve thou bisynesse* (St. Luke xii. 58).

It is hard to tell whence comes our word *sneer*. In St. Matt. ix. 24 *deridebant* is Englished by *smerdon*; there may be an exchange here of *m* and *n*. In the South, this verb would have had a *bi* prefixed.

Our word *bundles* is first found as *bunda*, in St. Matt. xiii. 30; it is the Scandinavian *bundin*.[1]

Our *stir* and *shake* were usually active Verbs, but in

[1] How beautiful an instrument of language is the Teutonic vowel-change in the middle of a word! We have thus struck off *band, bend, bind, bond, bund-le*. Compare *share, shear, shire*, &c.; *grab, grip, grove, groove, grub*, &c.

St. Matt. xi. 7 *agitatam* is Englished by *stÿrende* and *sceœcende*.

In St. Matt. xxv. 36 the verb *clæðdon* (ye) clothed, is seen for the first time; this is the Scandinavian verb *klæða*.

In St. Luke's account of our Lord's sufferings, it is said that the soldiers *thrashed* Him, *ðurscon*; this verb would in our days be thought hardly lofty enough for the occasion.

The Infinitive in *n* is constantly clipped; and not only does *awrittan* (scribere) become *awritta*, but passes further into *awritte*, our *write*. Many other such instances could be given. Sometimes a Perfect is clipped; thus *eodon* (ibant) becomes *eado* (St. Luke xxiv. 13).

The Southern *syllan þe na* becomes in the North *gesella oðer nô*, 'givē tribute or not.'

Our adjective *high* is used independently of substantives, as *on high*. This began very early, for in St. Luke i. 78 *ex alto* is Englished by *of heh*; the expression must have seemed rather strange, for *of heofnum* is there given as an explanation. These Latin idioms in the Bible must have had great influence upon English. When we see *quæ et qualis mulier* (St. Luke vii. 39) translated by *huoelc und hulic wif*, we cannot help thinking that the *hulic* must have been suggested by the kindred *qualis*, as the English word is never found in the South.

The Blickling Homilies, published in 1874 by Dr. Morris for the Early English Text Society, are remarkable as bearing a date; they were compiled in 971. I would suggest Staffordshire or the neighbourhood as the place where they were drawn up; they abound in Northern

forms, such as *ingoð*, *halie* (sanctus), *hafað*, *aldor* (princeps), *owiht*; the *ge* at the beginning of Past Participles is often clipped; *e* often replaces the Southern *æ* and *ea*. On the other hand, there are peculiarities, which are afterwards seen in Salop; such as *e* for the *i* or *u* of other shires; *senne* (peccatum), *bergean* (sepelire), *sceldig* (reus). In *sawle* (anima), p 43, the *u* and the *w* are united, either of which letters might have stood after *a* or *o*. In p. 159 we see the old form *woruld* (sæculum); in the page before, this is pared down to *worlde*.

The Consonants are often thrown out. The *hraþe* (cito) of p. 155 loses its *h* in the preceding page; the *g* is lost in *fyliende* (sequens), p. 249; in *halie* (sanctus), p. 143; and in *an*, for *agen* (proprius), p. 105. *Ofdune* becomes *adune* (adown), p. 173; *berern* (horreum) becomes *beren* (barn), p. 41. In p. 21 we see *oþon leohte* written instead of *on þon leohte* ('i' the light,' as Shakespeare would say). Some have set this clipping down to the Danes' account, but it is due simply to Teutonic laziness in pronouncing consonants. Thus, before the year 400, *on back* is seen corrupted into the Gothic *ibukai*; King Alfred wrote both *onweg* and *aweg* (away). We may still say both *on shore* and *ashore*.

In p. 131 we find *embe twelf monaþ* (about a twelfmonth); the first instance, I think, of this peculiarly English noun. In p. 45 we read, *him sylfum nænige gode beon*, 'to be of no good to himself;' we now say, 'he is no good to any one.'

As to Pronouns, in pp. 23 and 45 we see *þæm* (illis) used where in the South *heom* would have come. This usage was continued 200 years later by Orrmin, who most

likely lived not far from the shire where these Homilies were compiled. In p. 49 comes *broþor mine* (brethren mine), instead of the usual form. Another usage of Orrmin's is foreshadowed in p. 127; we see *æt æghwylcum anum* (at each one): in the South, the last word, *anum*, would not have been allowed. It was the indefinite *mán* that stood elsewhere for the Greek *tis*; but in p. 125 we read of the finest work that *men* could devise: an idiom that we still keep.

In p. 243 *âne tid* stands for *olim*, and shows whence comes our *once*, in the sense of the Latin word. In p. 215 is *he hæfde twæm læs þe twentig* (he had two less than twenty), a most terse English idiom.

In p. 165 the Angel tells Zacharias *ne wilt þu þe ondreadan* (fear not); an early instance of *will* being used to soften a command.

We find such phrases as *efne swa* (just so), p. 75; *ful leof* (full dear), p. 131. A well-known Adjective is here used much like an Adverb: *still* had hitherto Englished the French *tranquille*, it is now further used for *toujours*. We read in p. 209 of men *þe on ðære stowe stille wunodan* (that dwelt still in the place); the context shows that *still* was gaining a new sense, which was long peculiar to the North.

In p. 121, five lines from the top, *swa* is evidently used for the Latin *ergo*; a most striking innovation.

As to Prepositions, the use of *by* is much extended. In p. 213 comes *ferdan be him* (went past him); in p. 185 is *heoldan be him* (hold by them, cleave to them). It had often been used to express the instrument; it now introduces the agent, in p. 163, answering to the Latin

ab; something is *ongyten be eallum men* (understood by all men). This last sense is most unusual, and is not found again, I think, until Mandeville's time, nearly four hundred years later. In p. 217 we get our first hint of *unto*; St. Martin, seeing men stand round a person's body, went *into* him. In p. 127 comes *up oþ breost heah* (high up to the breast), the source of our *breast-high*.

Latin words were losing their own endings, and were being stamped with the English mark; we here find *discipul*, *apostol*, *templ*.

The Rushworth Gospels were compiled in the North about the year 1000.[1] One of the translators was a priest at Harewood in Yorkshire. I give a few words to show how much nearer the dialect is to our present speech than West Saxon is:—

Southern.	*Northern.*	*Modern.*
Ic,	Ih	I
Eac	Ek	Eke
Byreð	Bereð	Beareth
To cumenne eart	Cwome scalt	Shalt come
Ealle gearwe	All iare	All yare (ready)
Geoc	Ioc	Yoke
Neara	Naru	Narrow
Seolfer	Sylfur	Silver
On middan	In midle	In middle
Geonga	Iunge	Young
Pening	Pennig	Penny

There were traces of Danish forms in the Lindisfarne Gospels; these are still plainer to the eye in the Rush-

[1] Mr. Skeat has lately fixed the date of these Northern Gospels; see his Preface to St. Mark. In my former work I was here misled by Garnett.

worth Book. In St. Luke, xix. 21, *tu es* is translated by the kindred *þu is*, which is a sure mark of Scandinavia; the *is* in the old Northumbrian kingdom answered to the Latin *sum, es, est*, all alike.[1] There is another Danish form in St. Luke xxiii. 41, where the pronoun *hic* is translated, not by *ðes*, but by *ðer*; the *thir* may be remarked in the 'Cursor Mundi,' in Hampole, and in Scotch law documents almost down to the year 1700.

In the North, words were pared down as much as possible; the first letter of *apostol* is here cast out, much as in Orrmin's writings two hundred years later; this is a Scandinavian usage, which lasted down to Wickliffe's time. The Southern *geworden* became in Yorkshire *awarð*; where the Old English prefix *ge* lingers in our day, it commonly takes the form *a*.

The Northern *k* is here much used for the Southern *c*, and *cu* is turned into *qu*, following the Latin. The combination *oi* may be remarked, which was very rare in England before this time, except in proper names like *Boisil* and *Loidis*; it seems to have been sounded like the French *ê*. There is an early instance of *v* replacing *f*, in St. Matt. i. 24, where *wive* is found for *wif*; we see in another place *leovost*. *I* often stands for *g*, at the beginning of words. Alfred's *gh*, so common with us, replaces the guttural *h*, as, *neghibur*, for the old *neahbur*. The sound of *o* is already confused with that of *u*, for we find *unduað* (solvite). As happens in many other instances, we now write this word in the Southern way,

[1] This may be seen in the Jacobite ballad:—

'Cogie, an the King come,
I'se be fou, and thou's be toom.'

and pronounce it as the Northerners did. The old *gærs* (herba) is now seen as *græs*, our *grass*.

What in the South was *hyne*, becomes *him* in the North; the Dative replaces the Accusative, both in the Singular and Plural, as we see in St. Matt. xvii. 5, and other places; in chap. ii. 4, we find *heom* used for *hig*, just as we say in talking, 'I asked 'em.'

There is a curious idiom in St. Matt. xv. 32; *þreo dagas is nu þæt*, &c. We should now prefix *it* to the *is*. The other Versions keep closer to the Latin.

In St. Matthew xxvi. 68, we find the first instance, I think, of the Neuter Relative standing after a Masculine Antecedent; *hwa is þæt þe slog?* 'who is it that?' This is just as if a Latinist were to write, *quis est quod?*

There is a like innovation in St. Matt. xv. 34; *hwæt hlafas*, &c.? 'what loaves?' This translates the Latin *quot*, which the Glosser perhaps took for a kindred word; but the English *hwæt* had never been coupled with a Plural Nominative before, so far as can be known.

In St. Luke xxiii. 34, *hwæt* for the first time stands as a Relative, like the Latin *quod*; *witun þæt hwæt hi doað*. We should now strike out the *þæt*. These three last instances of corruption in English show what influence the intermingling of Anglians with Danes has had in our land. More than a hundred years later, the corrupt English of the North was spreading downward to Peterborough. We should cast aside all the old notions about our grammar owing its debasement to the Norman Conquest. Rich Kent, though overrun with foreigners, held fast to the Old English endings down to 1340, long after the greater part of the land had dropped

them; Yorkshire had got rid of many of her endings long before the Normans came. It was not these last conquerors that substituted the Plural ending in *es* for the old Plural in *en*; this *en*, with its Genitive in *ene*, lasted until 1340 in Kent.

The old *of* gets a new meaning, our *concerning*, in St. John xviii. 23. In the South, the rightful *be* was maintained; *cyþ gewitnesse be yfele*, 'of the evil.'

The ending *es* is seen added to Adverbs in St. Matthew viii. 32; we there find *niðerweardes*. This is the parent of our corrupt *ones* (once), *hence*, *always*, and many such.

We often find *dol* used for *stultus*, whence comes our *dolt*; the *t* as usual rounding off the word.

Piper (tibicen), the Scandinavian *pípari*, seems peculiar to the North, as another word is employed in the Southern Gospels.

We sound our word *whelps* more correctly now than was done in the North nine hundred years ago; for in St. Matthew xv. 27, it is written *welpas*. All who wish to speak good English must clearly sound the *h* before the *w* in words like *when*, *what*.

In St. Matthew xxi. 19, *continuo* is Englished by *in styde*, a Danish form. Hence comes our 'on the spot,' referring to time, not to place.

The old *tuna* (enclosure), might stand for either a *village* or a *garden*; it is here applied to Bethany and to Gethsemane alike.

The Latin *torrens* is Englished by *hlynne* in St. John xviii. 1. This word is peculiar to the North; the *linns* of Scotland are well known.

When we talk of our *bounden* duty, we are more primitive than the author of the Rushworth Gospels was, who clips the last consonant, and has *unbunde* for *solutum*; the endings of Verbs were now much mauled, But he cleaves to his old *dom* (facio), where the *m* marks a very early date.

In St. Mark v. 14, *foed* is found instead of *foedon*; here the rightful ending disappears altogether. Wickliffe is far more primitive, for he has *thei fedden*, they fed.

We follow the Southern Perfect *spætton* (they spat), rather than the *spittadun* of these Gospels. In the Present, we prefer the Northern *spit* to the old Southern Present *spæt*. Our Standard English comes from many different shires far apart.

The Southern Participle *gecnyt* (knit) has prevailed over the *gecnyted* of the Rushworth Gospels.

I have kept one of the greatest changes till the last. In St. Matthew vi. 7, *doan* stands for *faciunt*; in St. John xix. 15, *habbon* stands for *habemus*. The *n* that ends these words in the Plural of the Present is something altogether new; it would have been replaced by ð in the South, by *s* in the North. These changes will be discussed a little later; it is enough now to remark, that these Gospels could not well have been Englished far to the North of Doncaster.

We may now return to Southern England. The effect of Latin upon English may be seen in Ælfric's Grammar, which belongs to this time.[1] He finds himself obliged to use foreign terms; as, '*Pronomina* habbað

[1] See Somner's edition of it.

feower *declinunga,*' p. 17; 'we habbað *declinod* . . . we wille secgan þa seofan *derivativa,*' p. 18; 'þa habbað six *casus.*' *Sutor* is Englished by *sutere*; *murmur* by *ceowung* (jawing). He can translate *quadrupes* by *fyþerfete*; but there is a sad falling-off in our power of compounding, when *bivium* has to be Englished by the cumbrous *twegra wega gelæte.* He is happy in having *gemetu,* wherewith to translate the kindred *metra.* His pupils cannot have gathered much new knowledge from this sentence; 'syndon *indeclinabilia,* þæt is, undeclinigendlice,' p. 51; a curious instance of a foreign word being fitted with an English head and tail. The names of the cases are given in Latin.

We may remark in Ælfric's other writings, that he talks of a *halig sanct,* thus coupling two synonyms; and he cuts down the old *gehâl* (integer) to *hâl,* thus confounding it with the English word for *sanus*; for these points see Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' 99, 100. *Wîfmen* is pared down to *wimmen,* our *women,* just as the Latin *amavisse* became *amâsse, Gnaivod* became *Cnæo*; we still keep the sound of the old word *wimmen,* though we misspell it. The hard *g* is softened in the third letter of *geiukodan* (jugati); *Cerberus* becomes *Cerverus,* and on the other hand *Joves* becomes *Jobes,* the Genitive of Jupiter.[1] Ælfric speaks of *æ, ðæt is open laga*; here we have the Old English and the new Danish translations of *lex.*[2] In the Chronicle for the year 994, *ænig* is cut down to *æni*; and in the year 998, *ðurh* is replaced by *ðuruh,* whence *thorough* and *thoroughfare.* In the year 1009, the old *hlafmæsse* loses its *h* in two

[1] See Thorpe's *Analecta,* 37, 91, 92, 102, for these changes.

[2] Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader,* 64, 90.

copies of the Chronicle, and loses its *f* in a third. Our Lammas was nearly formed.

Kemble's 'Charters,' after the year 1000, show a great change going on in our tongue. In III. 353, we hear that a man undertakes to put nothing *fals* in a book; the adjective is a foreign word. Danish words come in with Canute; in IV. 37, we hear of silver weighed 'be *hustinges* gewihte.' In a Will of 1046 (IV. 106), *heriot* replaces *here-geatu*; the Danish word *laga* (lex) is plainly about to drive out the Old English *æ*. In IV. 870, we come upon the true form of Edward the Confessor's Charters, and we can see how wretchedly other documents of his reign have been mauled by later transcribers; many of these latter papers are set out by Kemble.

Mr. Wright has printed, in his Popular Treatises on Science, an English Manual of Astronomy, that dates from about 1000 or a little earlier. *Bæda* here becomes *Beda*, *mærgen* becomes *merien* (morn), and there is *mæden*, which has lost the *g* before its *d*; *orcerd*, not far from our *orchard*, comes in p. 10.

In p. 16 we hear that lewd men call Septemtrio *carles-wæn*; it is curious that we have preserved the old letter *a* in our corruption of this name, and that we do not here talk of *churl*. In p. 18 we read of Elias and his *cnapa*; this last word was adding the sense of *servus* to its old meaning *puer*, and nearly four hundred years later it was to take a third sense, that of *nebulo*. The terseness of English comes out in the phrase, *an igland be norðan þysum syx daga fær* (an island six days' journey North of this); this *fær* is the Accusative of measuring,

which was in time to encroach greatly upon other cases.

In p. 13 *bissextus* is Englished by *twuwa syx*, 'twice six;' this is not often found so early. A remnant of the old sound lasted down to Mandeville's time, who has *two so much.*

In p. 17 we see our forcible idiom, which replaces *if*, coupled with the Subjunctive, by the Imperative; Lord Macaulay was very fond of this. *Nime ænne sticcan, hit hataþ*; 'take a stick, it will become hot.'

Even in those early days learned men found that they could not wholly express their meaning in pure English; we read here of *circul* and *firmamentum.* We hear of the *hlyd-monð* (noisy month), which we now call *March*; and we have also *Februarius*; the old and the new.

One of the tokens of change in a language is, that a Noun is brought in to express in a more lengthy way what had been denoted by a Preposition. In a Charter of 1046 (Kemble, IV. 106), the old *wiþ þan þe* is exchanged for *on ðam gerad ðæt* (on condition that).

The 'Apollonius,' published by Mr. Thorpe, cannot well be dated before 1050; the clippings are frequent; Infinitives and Participles are sadly maimed. The old *uncnawen* (unknown) is seen as *uncnawe*, a corruption of the Past Participle that is a sure mark of the South. With us, a cup is *broken*, an officer is *broke.*

The *e*, which should come at the end of words, often vanishes; the Adverb *rihte* becomes *riht.* The *y* is often turned into *i*, thus *bysig* becomes *bisy*, p. 20. We see

find (fiend) in p. 7, just as we now pronounce the word.

Many Consonants are thrown out, as we have remarked before; *ariht* is found in p. 3, I think, for the first time; *ancœnned* loses its first *n* in p. 24; the Infinitive *rowan* loses its last *n*. *Menigu* (multitudo) becomes *mœnio* in p. 12; hence Dryden's 'the many rend the skies.' In p. 18 the Article *se* becomes *þe*, as we still have it.

In p. 19 is an instance of the repetition of one and the same noun, an idiom in which England delights, 'the king held him *hand on handa*.'

In p. 4 we see another change of meaning; *cniht* had hitherto been used to English *servus*; it now bears something like our sense of the word; for *ealdorman* (prince) is written over it as an explanation. A word is often degraded, but not often promoted, as in this instance.

In p. 12 we find *sumne þæt þe gemiltsige*; here the Neuter Relative *þæt* is used after a Masculine Antecedent, as in the North. In the next page, *to ân* is used instead of the proper *to ânum*.

In p. 8 comes *ic gehirde secgan*, 'I heard say;' here *man*, which should be the third word, is dropped. The Adverb *forðweard* seems to become an Adjective in p. 10, 'they were *forðweard* on their way;' *forward* is now often used by us as an Adjective. In p. 14 *efne* is used in a new sense '*efne þes man*, whom thou didst aid, is envious;' it seems something like the Latin *ipse*.

There are changes in the Chronicle after the year 1000. Six years after that date the old *Wintanceaster* is

seen as *Wincester*, to which we now add but one letter. In 1035, the *g* is thrown out of *hlæfdige*; in 1049 the þ is thrown out of *Norþmen*. A little later, *Petrus* becomes *Petre* (Peter). In 1052 stands *Michaheles mæsse* (Michaelmas); here the Saint at the beginning is dropped; as also in *Thomes mæsse*; we often in our day hear the Genitive *Thomases* used, like the old Genitive *Juliuses*. In 1054, a bishop *for þæs kynges ærende*, 'he went the king's errand;' a curious idiom of the Accusative after an Intransitive Verb. This is something more than the old 'live a life,' 'fight a fight.' In the year 1055 we hear of *Hereford port* (town), an instance of English conciseness, like *Sinai munt*. In the year 1061 *word com* (word came) *that*, &c. In 1064, a man marches against his enemy with many *shires* that are named; here the shires stand for their inhabitants, like Macaulay's 'fast fled Ferentinum.' In the same year, the Apostle *Jude* is mentioned. The land of Cambria appears about this time as *Brytland* and *Wealas* (year 1048); the dwellers therein are *þe Welsc*. A few years later, in 1077, it is the land to the West of Normandy that is called *Brytland*, the Brittany of our time.

There is an Impersonal idiom in 1052, *þa com hit to witenne þam eorlum*, 'then came it to the knowledge of the earls.' In 1044 we read of 'the Abbot *of* Abbandune;' the *of* is here beginning to supplant the rightful *on*.

In the year 994 stands *æt neaxtan*, 'in the next place;' we should now say simply *next*; *at least* dates from the same age, and *at all* was to come later. In the year 1066 a man *lifede buton þry gear*; here the *ne* is

dropped before the verb, and thus *buton* gets the sense of the Latin *tantum*.

We have seen the changes in the North; even in the South, Danish words were taking root; some are found in Canute's day; and William I., addressing his Londoners in their own tongue, says that he will not allow 'þæt ænig man eow ænig *wrang* beode.' This *wrang* (malum) comes from the Scandinavian *rangr* (obliquus); it drove out the Old English *woh*.

I shall consider elsewhere the effect of the Norman Conquest upon England's speech. I give in my Appendix a specimen of the East Anglian dialect, much akin to the Northumbrian, written not long after the battle of Hastings.[1] In the Legend of St. Edmund, the holy man of Suffolk, we see the forms of *þe*, *ðe*, and *the*, all replacing the old *se*; the cases of the Substantive and the endings of the Verb are clipped; the prefix *ge* is seldom found, and *iset* stands for the old Participle *geset*. As to the Infinitive, the old *dælfan* becomes *dælfe*; the Dative *heom* replaces the old Accusative *hi*, as *heom wat gehwa*, 'each knows them.' The adjective does not agree in case with the substantive; as *mid æpele ðeawum*. *An heora* is turned into *án mon of him*; a corruption that soon spread over the South. The first letter is pared away from *hlaford*; the Anglian *alle* replaces the Southern *ealle*. *Eode* is making way for *wende* (ivit); and we find such forms as *child*, *nefre*, *healed*, *fologede*, instead of *cild*, *næfre*, *hælod*, *fyligde*.

[1] Mr. Thorpe, in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, looks upon the Legend, which he prints, as an East Anglian work.

The Chronicle, after the Norman Conquest, shows new forms of spelling; the Northern *ei* replaces *e* and *æ*, as in *aweig* and *togeines*; *draef* (pepulit) becomes *draf*. A Welshman is named in the year 1097, whose name was *Caduugaun*; here the *au* is employed to express the strong accent on the last syllable. The Plural *as* now becomes *es*, as *casteles*, in the year 1087. The old *Gleaweceastre* (pronounced *Glewekaistre*), is written *Glowe-ceastre* in the year 1119; not far from our *Gloucester*. An *u* is sometimes inserted, for *bosm* becomes *bosum*.

As to Consonants; *n* is used to round off a word, for the Celtic *Donacha* is written *Dunecan* in 1093. The *n*, on the other hand, is clipped in 1087, when *wære* (erant) replaces *wæron*. We have seen that *w* was not a favourite letter in the North; the Old English letter for *w* was disused so early as 1070 in the South, for in one of the Chronicles we read of *Cantuuarebyri*. The new *th* begins to usurp upon the old þ, as in *Theotford*; the hard *g* is dropped in the middle of *halie*, *dria*, and *ænie*. A well-known name is written *Rogcer* in 1076. The old *eallgeador* is lengthened to *eall togædere* in the year 1095. The change of *f* into *v*, in the middle of a word, proceeds. In the very year of the Norman Conquest, we read of a *provost*, and in the next year we find *unsivernisse*; one version of the Chronicle, in 1078, talks of *Eofeshamme*, while another spells the word as *Evesham*. The inter-change of *s* and *r* (see page 87 of this book) is found; in the year of the Conquest we see both the old *gecuron* and the new *cusen* (they chose).

The Article stands by itself, followed by *of*, thus saving the repetition of a Noun that had gone before;

in the year 1096 is found, *se eorl of Flandran and se of Bunan* (he of Boulogne). This setting a Pronoun (such the Article is here) before a Preposition, is strange to Old English, though it might be done in Greek and Gothic.

One of the first changes that followed the Conquest was the great development given to *of*; the old Genitive of Nouns was now encroached upon, and French influence may have been here at work. Within twenty-five years after 1066, we find—

let lihtlice of oð	(recked of oath)
aferede of heom	(afraid of them)
mycel dæl of his mannon	
belandoð of þam þe	(stripped of)
he sende of his mannan	(some of his men)
yrfenuma of eallon	(heir of all)

As to this last, in the very next sentence we see the true old Genitive form *yrfenuma ealles*. So in the sentence, that follows *cyng of Denmearcan*, comes the rightful *Englalandes cyng*. We stand here, in 1085, between the Old and the New. In 1095, there is a new idiom, Gothic but not Old English; stars fall *be anan oððe twam*, 'by one or two.' A few sentences on, we see this *bi* stand for the Latin *per*; *sende Romgesceot be him*; *þurh* would have been employed earlier. In 1076, something turns out *to mycclan hearme*; this reminds us of the older *to miclum weorðe*, p. 69.

Wiðutan of old meant no more than *extra*, but in 1087 it gained the new sense of *sine*, as we now mostly use it. The great William, we hear, would have won

Ireland *wiðután ælcon wæpnon.*[1] In 1076, a man is said to be *Brittisc on his modor healfe* (side). In 1094, *uppon* is used for *præter*; *uppon þæt*; this is the source of our *thousands upon thousands.*

In Pronouns, the confusion of cases has begun, as in the North; in the year 1067 we find *heom*, the Dative, stand for *hi*, the Accusative. There is a startling corruption in the account of Stamford Bridge Fight, added by a later hand after the year 1100; instead of the rightful *oðer*, we read *þa com an oþer*, which is as though a Latinist should write *unus alter* for *alter*. There is also *æfre þe oðer man*, 'every other man,' in 1087. In 1096, *naþing* is found for *nan þing*.

In Substantives, there are tokens found that a great change has come over England; *bêc* is turned into *bokes*, (*libri*); in 1070, we find *að swerunge* (oath-swearing); this prefixing an Accusative to a Verbal Noun became very common; such a phrase as *bearn cennung* had always been used. In 1073, comes *on þa sæhealfe* (sea-side); here two nouns are packed together, most tersely. In 1098, we hear that a mere *blod weoll* (ran blood); a new use of the Accusative. In 1086, we read that the Conqueror *dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere*; this French *chevalier* is in the next year Englished by *cniht*. The Dative in *um* was vanishing; we find the phrase *mid feawe mannan* in 1088. In 1091, we read of 12 *of þes cynges healfe and* 12 *of þes eorles*; the English

[1] This of old would have been *bûtan*. Our *but* still expresses *nisi, præter, quin, sed, verùm*; in Scotland, I believe, it may still stand for *extra* and *sine*. Our fathers must have thought that too great a load was thrown upon one word.

seem to have resolved upon saving their breath and not repeating their Substantives.

As to Adjectives, there is a new construction in the year 1085, *hu mycel hit wære wurð*, 'how much it was worth;' here the Accusative replaces the old Genitive after *wurð*. *Gewær* of old meant only *cautious*; it now gets the sense of our *aware*, as we see in 1095. Three years later, *trywe* (fidus) takes a new meaning, that of *honestus*; a prodigy is related on the faith of certain *trywe men*.

The Comparative Adverbs, *bet* and *leng*, are now changed into *betere* and *lengre*. The repetition of a comparative adverb (*more and more*, for instance), has been popular with us ever since *swiðor and swiðor* was set down in the account of the year 1086. In the next year we read *næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon*; but we should now say, 'had he done ever so much evil;' still the older idiom remains in our Bible.

As to Verbs, in 1070 we find that the old *ahte* (in the sense of *debere*) has come down South from Yorkshire; many other words have followed in its track since that year. A new idiom for the Subjunctive starts up in 1087, instead of the old Imperfect formerly used; *gif he moste libban, he hafde gewunnon*, 'he had won' or 'he would have won,' *superavisset*. This *had* we still keep in poetry; our present substitute for it in prose was to crop up seventy years later than the above-quoted entry. In the wonderful sketch of the Conqueror, in 1087, the writer tells us *hu gedon mann he wæs*; this *gedon* means *compositus*, and we still talk of *well-done meat*. Our Pluperfect of the word *be* is first found in 1096, *he heafde gebeon*, 'he had been.' There is no

Pluperfect like this in Old English, but the Icelandic has *hefir verit* (Mätzner, II. 74); *gebeon* replaces the old *gewesen*. In 1098, a prodigy was related by men that *sceoldan geseon hit*; we should say *must have seen it*. They say in the North, 'you would hear that fact a month ago;' where *would hear* stands for *must have heard*; this reminds us of the time when we had no Pluperfect of the Subjunctive. In 1100 comes the unusual Passive form, *blod wæs gesewen weallan* (visusest fluere), instead of the former idiom, 'man saw blood flow.'

As to Pronouns, in 1072, William did with his enemies *þæt he wolde*; this *þæt* stands for the old *swa hwæt swa* (quodcunque); we should now replace it by *what*. In 1095 we hear of *þa feower forewarde dagas* (the four first days); the usual idiom here would be *þa forman twâ* (the first two). Either idiom is used now, and is most venerable. In 1100 King Henry acts *be þære ræde þe him abutan wæran* (by the rede of them that were about him). It is most unusual, in Old English, to find this Relative *þe* detached from its Antecedent; it should have followed as the very next word. Scott has '*their lot who fled*.' In modern English composition the improper position of the Relative is the commonest of all grammatical pitfalls.

We may here cast a glance at Domesday Book, which tells us how English words, pronounced by peasants and not by scholars, sounded in Norman ears. The *ch* was employed for *k*, as in *Chent*, *Berchelai*; *gh* expressed the hard sound of *g* before *e* or *i*, as *Ghersintune*.[1] The *z*

[1] This *gh* was much used in Tudor times to express the hard *g* before *e* or *i*; this usage prevails in Italy.

was often used for *s*. The *g* and ȝ in the middle of words were thrown out; *Eadgyth* and *Swegen* became *Eddeva* and *Suen*; *Æpelric* became *Ailric*. The *h* was turned into *c*, as *Brictric*. When we see *Ælfred* written *Alured*, we light upon the first trace of a new form of the word. The *u* is often written for *v* and *f*. The English *u* is commonly written *ou*, in the French way. What we now call *Hulland* was set down in the Survey as *Hoilant*; the French sounded *oi* as *ou* or *ou-e*.[1] The þ was always a puzzle to Frenchmen; *þegn* was written *teign*. There was a place in Derbyshire called *Wilelmstorp* (now Williamsthorpe), which was held in 1065 by one Swain Cilt; this is a curious instance of a foreign Christian name taking root in English soil, as the name of a hamlet. One of the greatest changes is that of the old *Wigeraceaster* into *Wircestre*, not far from our *Worcester*; *Darbie* shows the new sound, still existing, of *Deoraby*. There can be no doubt about the Old English pronunciation of *ow*, when the Frenchmen write the old *Stow* as *Stou*; the former combination has usually had to make way for the latter. In Lincolnshire and Derbyshire the old *a* was in some places getting the sound of the French *é*, for *Staintone* is found; the Northern sound was coming Southwards. *Fugelestou* had not as yet been cut down to *Fulstow*.

We may examine the Peterborough Chronicle from 1100 down to the great fire in 1116. There is a tendency to get rid of *g* in every part of the word; thus in the year 1100 we read that William Rufus was slain by *his*

[1] We find in Scotland the two forms of one proper name, Mure and Moir, like the old Latin *oinus*, *unus*.

anan men; the *an* should have been *agen* (proprius); even our word *own* in 1877 keeps more of the old form than the *an* of 1100. There are forms like *sari* and *don*; in the last the prefix *ge* is altogether pared away, as in Yorkshire. In 1104 *gebrogden* becomes *gebroiden* (braided); we shall often find *y* or *i* replacing an old hard *g*. This *oi* differs from the *oi* in *Hoilant*, for it here has the sound of the French *ê*, just as the French *Moretoin* was pronounced; our *broidered hair* is a relic of the old form of the word just quoted. The diphthong *æ* was soon to vanish; in 1105 we see *ahwær* instead of *æghwær*; the Northern *ei*, as well as *oi*, was becoming popular in the Midland, for we see *reinas* (rains) in 1116; a third combination for the French *ê*, namely *ai*, was soon to follow *oi* and *ei* down from the North.

The Indefinite *an* is used before a proper name of time in 1116; something happened *on an Frigdæg*. We know the sense of our *fatherland*, borrowed of late years from the German; in the year 1101, *fæderland* meant simply *paternal estate*. In 1110 we see the method of reckoning by nights, and not by days, in *feowertyne niht* (fortnight). We read that when Rufus was buried, the Witan were *neh handa*, nigh at hand, or handy. In the year 1104 there is a startling change, much like the one in the Lindisfarne Gospels which substituted *huer* (ubi) for the old *þær*. The Earl of Moretoin worked against the King; *for hwan* (quam ob causam) the King punished him. This is an early Midland instance of *hwa* (it properly answered to the Latin *quis*, not to *qui*) being used as a Relative; an older writer would have written *forþam*. The new form

is repeated in 1110. We have a rather curious idiom in our day, 'a castle of the earl's,' a kind of double Genitive; we see something like this in the year 1106, as *þæs eorles ænne castel.* In the year 1114 comes *wolde he, nolde he*, the ancestor of our *willy nilly*. In 1116 appears *of nanan segcean*, 'speak of none;' *bi* of yore would have been used instead of this *of*, which we saw in the Rushworth Gospels. Since those days, *of* and *bi* seem to have changed places in our common talk. What we write 'nothing at all' was in 1110 set down as *nanþing mid ealle.* In the same year comes *nanþing of him wæs gesæwen* (seen); a startling change in idiom. The helpful word *man* now shrinks into *me*, answering to the French *on*, as *me began to weorcenne*; this was to last for 200 years. In 1119 we hear that an Earl died *of* wounds. Before this, in 1114, the Dative had been confused with the Accusative, as in the North; for *him* is put for *hine.* Our Southern peasants still use the latter, as 'hit un hard;' Squire Western, who was above a peasant (at least in rank), loved this old phrase. The article *se* is so confused in all its cases that we find *he sende se arcebiscop*, where it stands for the Accusative. Our muddling of the Dative and Accusative is very plain in the sentence *he geaf þone abbotrice an munec.* The Plural *hus* now becomes *husas*, our *houses*; the ending *as* was to swallow up all its brethren; this cannot be owing to French influence, as I have before said.

I have now brought my readers to the threshold of a fresh Period, which was to sweep away nearly all our old Inflections, to weaken disastrously our power of com-

pounding, to get rid of thousands of our common words, and to pour French adulterations into our word-store, which had been hitherto all but wholly Teutonic. There was to be a marked difference between the English of 1120 and the future English of 1303. I doubt whether any European language ever underwent changes such as have befallen our own Mother-tongue, at least within times traceable by History.[1]

[1] As regards change, nearest to English comes Spanish; with its Latin groundwork, and its later infusion, first of German, then of Arabic. Germany and Scandinavia never underwent any permanent foreign conquest, and therein differ from the other nations of Europe.

CHAPTER III.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH.

PERIOD I. — CULTIVATION.

(1120–1220.)

ENGLAND has been happy, beyond her Teutonic sisters, in the many and various stores of her oldest literature that have floated down the stream of time. Poems scriptural and profane, epics, war-songs, riddles, translations of the Bible, homilies, prayers, treatises on science and grammar, codes of law, wills, charters, chronicles set down year by year, tales, and dialogues—all these (would that we took more interest in them!) are our rich inheritance. In spite of the havock wrought at the Reformation, no land in Europe can show such monuments of national speech for the 400 years after A.D. 680 as England boasts. And nowhere else can we so clearly mark the national speech slowly swinging round from the Old to the New.

Take the opposite case of Italy. In 1190 we find Falcandus holding in scorn the everyday speech of his countrymen, and compiling a work in the Old Italian (that is, Latin), such as would have been easily read by Cæsar or Cicero. Falcandus trod in the path that had

been followed by all good Italian writers for twelve centuries; but two or three years after his book had been written, we find his countryman, Ciullo d'Alcamo, all of a sudden putting forth the first known poem in the New Italian, a poem that would now be readily understood by an unlettered soldier like Garibaldi.

In Italy, there is a sudden spring from the Old to the New, at least in written literature; but in England the change is most slow. I have already traced the corruption shown in the Northumbrian writings. In the Peterborough Chronicle of 1120, we see an evident effort to keep as near as may be to the old Winchester standard of English. Some of the inflections indeed are gone, but the writer puts *eall* for the *all* that came into his everyday speech, and looks back for his pattern to King Alfred's writings. In 1303, we find a poem, written by a man born within fifteen miles of Peterborough: the diction of this Midland bard differs hardly at all from what we speak under Queen Victoria. Nothing in philology can be more interesting than these 180 years, answering roughly to the lives of our first Angevin King, of his son, grandson, and great-grandson.

The Middle English, ranging between the two last-given dates, may be divided into three ages, upon each of which I shall bestow a Chapter:—

I. Cultivation: from 1120 to 1220.
II. Neglect: from 1220 to 1280.
III. Reparation: from 1280 to 1303.

In Age I. English was fairly well cultivated, and few old words used in prose were allowed to slip; it was

different with our inflections, at least in the North. In Age II., English was cast aside as something vulgar, and nearly every cultivated writer in our island betook himself to French or Latin; our tongue almost lost its noble power of compounding, and parted with thousands of old words. A very few translations from French and Latin kept a feeble light burning during these baleful years. In Age III. English writers translated copiously from the French, though they gave birth to nothing original; they thus stopped the decay of our fast perishing language, and French words in shoals were brought in to supply the place of the English lost in Age II.

In going through these 180 years, the plan I follow is this. I first give specimens of prose and poetry written within the Mercian Danelagh and East Anglia, where our classic New English was for the most part born. These specimens are the first-fruits of the East Midland Dialect. To each specimen I add a contrast, being some poem or treatise, written outside the aforesaid district, either in the South, the West, or the North. The samples from within the Danelagh, and from its Yorkshire border, will be seen boldly to foreshadow what is to come; the samples from shires lying to the South and West of the Danelagh will show tokens of a fond lingering love for what is byegone. In the East Midland there was the same mingling of Angles and Danes that we find in the shires where the Northumbrian Gospels were translated.

In questions bearing on dialects, clearness and precision are of the utmost importance; I therefore here set up a new landmark, which will be of some use in

fixing the shires where different poems were compiled. If we draw a line from Shrewsbury through Northampton and Bedford to Colchester, we shall roughly lay down the boundary between the shires that were wrested from the Celts by Saxon kings, and those other shires that were first settled by Angles and afterwards handed over to the Danes by Alfred.[1] This line I make bold to call the Great Sundering Line; I only wish I could write *Tongue-shed*, like *water-shed*. To the North and East of this Line (it answers fairly to the Loire in France) lived the men whose language, a mixture of Danish and Anglian, foreshadowed the New English. To the South and West of this Line lived the descendants of the Old Saxons, such as Cerdic's men, whose purer tongue, down to 1400 and even later, showed a warm attachment to inflections that had elsewhere passed away. The Peterborough Chronicle, written about 1160, is far easier to a novice in Old English than is the renowned Kentish treatise of 1340. The difference between the language of the two is explained by one simple fact: the Danish settlement of 870. 'Clip and pare' was the watchword of the Danelagh; 'Hold to the old ways' was the watchword of King Alfred's

[1] Essex, taken as a whole, belonged to the South. In the Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall, published by the Master of the Rolls in 1875, we read that a ghost, appearing in Suffolk, *loquebatur Anglicè secundum idioma regionis illius.*—Page 120. This proves that about the year 1200 there was a difference between the speech of Suffolk and that of Northern Essex, where Ralph lived. I have therefore taken care to carry my line to the North of Coggeshall. Mr. Taylor (*Words and Places*, 110) proves that there was a Danish colony in the North-east of Essex, for which I have made allowance.

shires. As to the corruptions that distinguish New English from Old English, we may put two-thirds of these down to the Danelagh, the remaining one-third to the Southern shires. The two-thirds are represented by a line drawn between York and Colchester; the one-third by a line drawn between Worcester and Canterbury. There are various marks which show at once where English manuscripts were written. Thus, if the old word *græg*, after the year 1160, be spelt *gray* or *grai*, we may in general set it down to the North of the Great Line; if it be spelt *grey* or *grei*, to the South. Either *gray* or *grey* is now good English; in this respect the word (not being a proper name) stands quite by itself.[1] The *ch*, that replaced *c*, spread easily over the South, but made its way slowly across the Line. The *u* in *much*, *such*, is a sure mark of the South, while *mikel*, *swilc*, betoken a Northern writer; *ælc* or *ilc* prevails in the North, *gehwylc* or *uch* is the favourite Southern form; *ech* (our *each*) seems to be a compromise between the two. The Northern *gilt* and the Southern *gult*, two forms of the old *gylt*, combine in our *guilt*. If a writer uses both sets of forms; if he sometimes, not always, clips the Prefix to the Past Participle; if he uses both *heo* and *she* (illa), both *hi* and *thei* (illi), both *he takes* and *he taketh*; we may safely say that such a writer lived not far from the Great Sundering Line, and must have had much in common with North and South alike. Such writers we may trace from the compiler of the Essex Homilies in 1180 down to the blind Salopian bard of 1420.

[1] The proper name *Alanus* was written *Aleyn* by Robert of Gloucester, p. 459; it is found later both as *Allan* and *Allen*.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About 1120.)

Of all cities, none has better earned the homage of the English patriot, the English scholar, and the English architect, than Peterborough. Her Abbot was brought home, sick unto death, from the field of Hastings; her monks were among the first Englishmen that came under the Conqueror's frown. Her Minster suffered more from Hereward and his Danish friends than from her new French Abbot, Turold. At Peterborough our history was compiled, not in Latin but in English; the English that had grown up from the union of many generations of Danes and Angles, dwelling not far from Rutland. Without the Peterborough Chronicle, we should be groping in the dark for many years, in striving to understand the history of our tongue.

This Chronicle bears the mark of many hands. It is likely that various passages in it were copied from older chronicles, or were set down by old men many years after the events recorded had taken place. A fire, whereby the old Abbey and town of Peterborough were burnt to the ground in 1116, marks a date both in English Architecture and English Philology. After that year arose the noble choir, which has happily escaped the doom of Glastonbury and Walsingham. After that year, monks were sent out to copy the English chronicles of other Abbeys, and thus to replace the old Peterborough annals, which must have been

burnt in the fire.[1] The copyists thus handed down to us a mass of good English prose, a great contrast to the 'forged Charters, drawn up in the Midland speech of 1120, which were newly inserted in the Chronicle. It is with these last that my business lies, as also with the local annals of Peterborough, taken down from the mouths of old men who could remember the doughty deeds of Hereward and his gang fifty years earlier, when men of Danish blood in the East and North were still hoping to shake off William's yoke.

I now show how the Old English had changed in the Danelagh before the year 1131, at which date the first Peterborough compilers seem to have laid aside their pens. This reign of King Henry I. is the most interesting of all reigns to a student of English; the Yorkshire corruptions of the Tenth Century are seen travelling down to the South, a process that has always been going on in England, both in the forms and in the sounds of words.

In Vowels, the combination *eaw* was being replaced by *eu*; thus *feawa* became *feuna*, which was perhaps meant for the corrupt Dative *feuan* (few). This is in the forged Charter, inserted in the year 656. *Feower* becomes *fower*; *heôra* and *him* (in Latin, *eorum* and *eis*) now change into *here* and *hem*; this last we still use in phrases like 'give it 'em well;' and this Dative Plural

[1] I here follow Mr. Earle in his account of the Saxon Chronicles. The cock and bull tales in the forged Charters of the Abbey are most amusing to any one who knows the true history of England in the Seventh Century. Somewhat later, King Edgar it supposed to use the word *market* in one of these Charters!

drove out the old Accusative *hî*. The combination *eu* was replacing the older *eow*, for we find *þeudom*; *eôwer* becomes *iure* (your): *eo* is turned into *i*, as *betwix* and *liht* for *betweox* and *leoht*; it sometimes changes into *e*, as *ðre* for *threo*. *Fyr* (ignis) appears as *fir*; *æ* was soon to drop, for *bæd* (jussit) becomes *bed*, sounded as we sound it now; and *æfre* (semper) becomes *efre*. The combination *ou*, found in very few English words before the Conquest, comes more forward; it is pronounced as in France. It becomes confused with *o* (a circumstance which has had a striking effect upon our English pronunciation); the old *oðer* (aut) is seen written *ouðer*; *nûn*, *þanon*, become *nun*, *thenen*. In the year 1124, *heftning* appears; and some old monk, who aimed at correctness, has put the *u*, the proper letter to be used, above the *i* in the manuscript. In the year 1123 the old *Wealas* becomes *Wales*.

As to changes in Consonants, the old *h* sometimes becomes *ch*, as *burch* for *burh*; this prevailed over the Eastern side of England, from London to York; though *gh* came later to be more used than *ch*. Our old ð was often laid aside for *th*, the latter being better known to the Normans. There is a tendency to get rid of the letter *g* in every part of a word; thus we find

Scîr-gerefa	becomes	scirreve (sherriff)
Gyt	„	iett
Dæg	„	dæi (day)
Geâtweard	„	iateward (porter)[1]

[1] *G* sometimes changed to *y*, and then centuries later, owing to East Anglian influence upon Standard English, changed back to *g* again; as we see in this word *gate*, still called by the Scotch *yett*.

Cæg	becomes	keie (kėy)[1]
Þægnâs	„	ðæines (thanes)
Ealmihtig	„	ælmihti
Pening	„	peni
Lægdon	„	leidon
Sægde	„	seide
Læg	„	læi
Mæg	„	mæi
Geornden	„	iornden (yearned)

F in the middle of a word is often replaced by *v*; thus *we geafon* becomes *we gaven*, and *lufe* becomes *luve*; this change was still more marked in the South.

In Nouns the Dative Plural in *um* has long vanished; there is a general break-up of case-endings; and the Nominative Plural in *as* (now *es*) is swallowing up all the other Declensions. The Definite and Indefinite forms of Adjectives are jumbled together, and the agreement of their cases with those of Substantives is no longer heeded.

Seolfer	becomes	siluer
Suná	„	sunes (sons)
Naman	„	nam (name)
Hlaford[2]	„	lauerd (lord)
Heáfod	„	heafed (head)
Munecan	„	muneces (monks)
Wif	„	wifes
Laga	„	laces (lakes)

We saw before that the old *hus* became *husas*; it is now *huses*, our *houses*. There is a curious instance

[1] Here the Northern *k* begins to replace the Old Southern *c*.

[2] The *h* before a liquid now begins to drop, in the approved Anglian fashion.

of the way in which Nouns become Prepositions to be found in the year 1129; we read *be þis half þa muntes*, 'on this side the mountains.' Here we have the last word in the Accusative, and not in the Genitive; after this, a Preposition might easily be formed from *beside*, like *behind* or *before*. Rather earlier, in the year 1123, *on an half him* may be seen; we should now say, 'on one side of him.' The old *swiþre* (dextera) was now giving way to *right*, just as the still older *teso* (in Gothic, *taihswo*) had long before made room for *swiþre*.

There is a change in Pronouns; the Accusative *hî* (illam) is seen as *hire* (her) in the account of the year 1127. The Neuter Relative *þæt* is no longer confined to the Neuter Singular antecedent, but follows Plurals, just as we use it; thus in the forged Charter of the year 656 we find *ealle þa þing þ. ic wat.* In the forged Charter inserted in the year 675, *swa hwylc swa* (quicunque) is pared down to *hwilc þe*; a great change. *Ælc* (quisque) becomes *ilca*, which still lingers in Scotland. We find *al* instead of the old Genitive Plural *ealra* (omnium).

The old English Definite Article *se, seo, þæt*, becomes hopelessly confused in its cases and genders; we are not far from the adoption of *the* to do duty for them all.

The Verb, as written at Peterborough in Henry the First's day, is wonderfully changed from what it was in the Confessor's time.

Old English.	*Peterborough.*
Lufige	Lufe (love)
Lufôde	luuede (loved)
Sceolde	scolde (should)

Old English.	*Peterborough.*
Eom	Am
Beô	be (*sit*)
Beoð	be (*sunt*)
Wæs	was
Yrnð	renneth (currit)
Bleowon	blewen (blew)
Heald	held
Habban	hafen (have)

The Infinitive now drops the *n*, as in the Northumbrian Gospels. In Pope Agatho's forged Charter of 675, we find '*ic wille segge*,' I will say; this should have been *secgan*. The *ge*, prefixed to the Past Participle, now drops altogether in the Danelagh; the Danes, having nothing of the kind, forced their maimed Participle upon us. Still, the *ge*, slightly altered, is found to this day in shires where the Danes never settled. Thus, in Dorset and Somerset they say, 'I have *a-heard*,' the old *gehyrde*. One Past Participle, *gehaten*, still lingered on in the Midland for fourscore years after the paring down of all its brethren. No Teutonic country was fonder of this *ge* in old times than Southern England.

But we now come to the great change of all in Verbs, the Shibboleth which is the sure mark of a Midland dialect. The Old English Present Plural of Verbs ended in *að*, as *wê hŷrað*, *gê hŷrað*, *hí hŷrað*. Some have thought that, after the common English fashion, an *n* which used to follow the *a*, has been here cast out. But the peasants in some of our shires may have kept the older form *hŷranð*; as we find the peasants on the Rhine using three different forms of the Present Plural; to

wit, *liebent*, *liebet*, and *lieben*.[1] Bearing this parallel case in mind, we can understand how the Present Plural of the Mercian Danelagh came to end in *en* and not in *aþ*. The Peterborough Chronicle, in Henry the First's reign, uses *liggen*, *haven*, for the Plural of the Present of Verbs; we even find *lin* for *liggen*. This is the Midland form, of which we have already seen an instance in the Rushworth Gospels. The Southern form would be *liggeth*, *habbeth*; a slight alteration of the Old English. The Northern form, spoken beyond the Humber, would be *ligges*, *haves*, as we saw in the Northumbrian Gospels. Another Shibboleth of English dialects is the Active Participle. In the North this ended in *ande*, the Danish form. In the Midland it retained the *ende*, the Old English form, though in Lincolnshire and East Anglia this was often supplanted by the Danish *ande*. In the South, it ended in *inde*, as we shall soon see. To take an example, *we stand singing*.

North.—We standes singande.
Midland.—We standen singende.
South.—We standeth singinde.

This Midland form of the Present Plural is still alive in Lancashire. The Southern form is kept in the famous Winchester motto, 'Manners *maketh* Man.'

A strange idiom of the English Verb is seen in the forged Charter of 656, *ðancod wurð it þon ælmihti*, 'be it thanked to the Almighty;' hence comes our modern *he hanged to him*, and such like, where we form new Impersonal Verbs. In the year 1123 stands *hit wæs don*

[1] Garnett's *Essays*, p. 142.

ðone *pape to understanden*; 'the Pope was made to understand;' hence comes, 'I do you to wit.' In 1127 stands the Reflexive, *he bepohte him.* The hesitating *þær mihte ben* stands in the same year for *þær wæron.*

Some new Adverbs are seen; *for hwi* in the forged Charter of 656 is the forerunner of our *wherefore*; *whyfor* remains in some dialects. The old *for þam* (igitur) is now changed into *þærfore*; *sóna* becomes *son* (soon). The old *on an* had formerly meant 'in one body,' or 'continually;' in the year 1122 it gets the new sense 'at once;' in the South it took the form of *anon*, and is not yet dead. In 1129, a Pope dies, and *ær he wære wel ded*, two new Popes are chosen; here *wel* is used much as in the old *well nigh.* The Middle English delights in adding *es* to old Adverbs; *æne* and *twiwa* now becomes *ænes* (once) and *twiyes* (twice).

As to Prepositions, we see *for to* employed in a new sense in the year 1127; this follows a Scandinavian and French construction; we read, *se kyng hit dide for to havene sibbe*, 'the king did it to have peace.' Hence the well-known 'What went ye out for to see?' We suppress the strengthening *for* in our modern speech. This *for* now gets a new sense, that of *enim*; here a Preposition becomes a Conjunction by dropping the *þam* or *þat* that used to follow. In the year 1123, we read that 'it did not last, *for* the bishop was against it;' *forþan þe* would have been used earlier. *Ær* also is used for *ær þam.* Our *abutan* (about) was now encroaching on the old *ymbe*; for in the forged Charter of 656, the phrase is used '*about* three miles to a hamlet.'

Many words common to us and to our brethren on

the mainland, live on in the mouths of the common folk for hundreds of years ere they can win their way into books.[1] Thus Mr. Tennyson puts into the mouth of his Lincolnshire farmer the word *buzzard-clock* for a certain insect. No such word as *clock* can be found in the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, though it is tacked on by our peasantry to many other substantives, to stand for various insects. But on turning to an Old German gloss of wondrous age, we find '*chuleich*, scarabæus.'[2] We shall meet many other English words, akin to the Dutch and High German, which were not set down in writing until the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries, when these words replaced others that are found in the Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Some of the strangers are also used by Danish writers; it is thus often hard to tell whether a Teutonic word came to England with Hengist in the Fifth Century or with Hubba in the Ninth Century. Perhaps the safest distinction is to keep in mind the Great Sundering Line: in the case of strange Teutonic words that crop up to the North of this line, we should lean to Scandinavia; in the opposite case, to Friesland. Thus, in the account of the year 1118, we find *wyrre*, our *war*; this reminds us of the Old Dutch *werren*; in Latin, *militare*. In 1124, the new form *bærlic*, our *barley*, replaces the old *bere*, which still lingers in Scotland. *Cnawlece* (acknowledge) is seen for the first time in a forgery inserted in the account of the year 963. As might be expected,

[1] Compare the Low Latin *taliare* (secare), *singularis* (aper), and many such words, which no good classic writer would employ.

[2] See Garnett's *Essays*, p. 68.

Scandinavian words, long used by the Dano-Anglian peasantry, were creeping into written English prose. The Danish *bathe* (ambo) drove out the Old English *ba* and *butu*. In the forged Charter inserted in the annals of 656, we read of the hamlet Grætecros; the last syllable of this comes from the Norse *kross*, and it was this word, not the French *croice*, that supplanted our Old English *rôd* (rood). In 1128, we find the phrase, 'þurh his micele *wiles*;' this new word, which is still in our mouths, comes from the Scandinavian *vœla* (decipere). In 1131, we see 'þa wæs tenn ploges;' the substantive is from the Scandinavian *plôgr*; English is the only Teutonic tongue that of old lacked this synonym for *aratrum*; the true old *sulh* still lingers in Dorset. The Scandinavian *fra* replaces the Old English *fram*; and we still say, 'to and *fro*.' Where an older writer would have written '*on* ðe *norð half*,' the Peterborough Chronicler for 1131 changes *on* into *o*; we have already seen *ariht*; and we may still write either *ashore* or *on shore*. The old English *scofopa* had long been written *siofund* in Yorkshire; it is now written *seovepende* (seventh) in the Midland; our present form of the word is a compound of Old English and Scandinavian. The letter *g* was, as a general rule, being thrown out in the Midland; but so strong was the Danish influence, that the first letter of their Perfect *gekk* (ivit) was set before the Old English synonym *eôde*, and *gaed* (so well known in the Scotch Lowlands) is the result. The verb *for-gede* may be seen in the year 1129. This did not come to the South of the Great Sundering Line.

One effect of the mingling of Danes and Englishmen

was the simplifying of our construction of sentences, which had hitherto been cumbrous; the Verb had often come last, after the case governed by it. This was now altered; about the year 1125 the Peterborough English becomes most easy in construction. Our tongue was, in this respect at least, to rise far above her High German sister.

EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1120.

Extracts from a forged Peterborough Charter (inserted in the year 656):—

. . . . . .

Ða seonde se kyning æfter þone abbode þet he æues-
Then sent the king after the abbot that he speedily
telice scolde to him cumon. and he swa dyde. Ða cwæd
should come so did quoth
se kyning to þan abbode. La leof Sæxulf. ic hane geseond
Lo, loved I have sent
æfter þe for mine saule þurfe. and ic hit wile þe wæl
thee soul's need it will well
secgon for hwi. Min broðor Peada and min leoue freond
say why brother loved friend
Oswi ongunnen an mynstre Criste to loue and Sancte
began minster to Christ's glory
Petre. Oc min broþer is faren of þisse liue. swa swa Crist
But gone from life as
wolde. Oc ic wile þe gebidden. la leoue freond. þat hii
pray to they
wirce æuostlice on þere werce. and ic þe wile finden
may work diligently the
| ærto gold and siluer. land and ahte. and al þet þærto
goods

behofeð. Đa feorde se abbot ham. and ongan to wircene.
behoves went home began

Swa he spedde swa him Crist huðe. swa þet in feuna
So as granted few

geare wæs þat mynstre gare. Đa þa kyning heorda þæt
years ready. When heard

gesecgon. þa wærd se swiðe glæd. heot seonden geond
said was he right glad he bade through

al hi þeode æfter alle his þægne. æfter ærcebiscop. and
his people thanes

æfter biscopes. and æfter his eorles. and æfter alle þa
those

þe Gode luuedon. þat hi scoldon to him cumene. and
that come

seotte þa dæi hwonne man scolde þat mynstre gehalegon.
set day when hallow

. . . . .

And ic bidde ealle þa þa æfter me cumen. beon hi mine
all those that be they

sunes. beon hi mine breðre. ouþer kyningas þa æfter me
or kings

cumen. þat ure gyfe mote standen. swa swa hi willen
our gift may

beon delnimende on þa ece lif. and swa swa hi wilen
partakers in the eternal

ætbeorstan þet ece wite. Swa hwa swa ure gife ouþer
escape punishment. Whosoever

oþre godene manne gyfe wansiað, wansie him seo
of other good men lessens the

heofenlice iateward on heofenrice. And swa hwa swa
heavenly gateward heaven-kingdom

hit eceð. ece him seo heofenlice iateward on heofenrice.
increases

Đas sindon þa witnes þe þær wæron. and þa þat gewriten
These are wrote

mid here fingre on Cristes-mele. and ietten mid here
with their *cross* *agreed*
tunge. . . . Ðes writ wæs gewriton æfter ure.
Drihtnes 'acennednesse DCLXIIII. þes kyningas
Lord's *birth*
Wulhferes seoueþende gear, þes ærcebiscopes Deusdedit
seventh
IX gear. Leidon þa Godes curs. and ealre halgane curs.
They laid then *saints'*
and al cristene folces. þe ani þing undyde þat þær wæs
gedon. swa beo hit seiȝ alle. Amen.
done *so* *be* *it* *say*

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1120.)

Ure hlaford almihtiȝ God wile and us hot þat we hine lufie. and of him smaȝe and spece. naht him to mede ac hus to freme and to fultume. for him seiȝe alle hiscefte. . . . Gif non man ne þoht of Gode. non ne spece of him. Gif non of him ne spece. non hine ne lufede. Gif non hine ne lufede. non to him ne come. ne delende. nere of his eadinesse. nof his merhče. Hit is wel swete of him to specene. þenche ȝie ælc word of him swete. al swa an huni tiar felle upe ȝiure hierte. Heo is hefone liht and eorðe brihtnesse. loftes leom. and all hiscefte ȝimston. anglene blisse. and mancenne hiht and hope. richtwisen strenhče. and niedfulle frouer.[1]

[1] *Old English Homilies*, edited by Dr. Morris (Early English Text Society), p. 217. These go on to p. 245. The passage I give above is an original one of the transcriber's, written long after Ælfric's time.

Page 219. Seraphim *birninde* oðer anhelend.
God lét hi habben ágen *chire*, to *chiesen*.
„ 221. Forgáng þu *ones* treówes westm.
„ 235. He cweð *a* wunder worder.
„ 223. Þa weran *boðe* deadlice.
„ 225. Ic wille halden þe and *ti* wif.
Ic wille settan *mi* wed (covenant).
„ 233. He us forðteh *alse* is *cyldren*.
Feder, of *wam* we sielþe habbeð.
„ 235. Bárn of hire *ogen* innoð.
Gif ic fader *ham*.
Wer laðieres *móche*.
„ 239. *Wic* ȝéie, *wic* dredness wurð.
Birne *alse longe as* ic lefie.

This Southern English, as anyone may see, is far more archaic than the dialect of Peterborough. After the year 1000, Ælfric had written many homilies in the English of his day, and these were popular in our land long after his death. A clean sweep, it is true, was made of a Latin sentence of his, wherein he upholds the old Teutonic idea of the Eucharist, and overturns the newfangled Transubstantiation, a doctrine of which Lanfranc, seventy years later, was the great champion in England.[1] But otherwise Ælfric's teaching was thought sound, and his homilies were more than once turned into the corrupt English of succeeding centuries. We have one of these versions, drawn up about the time of the forged Peterborough Charters; this is headed by the extract given

[1] See Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism* (Third Edition, p. 260) as to erasures made in Ælfric's text by theologians of a later age.

above. The East Midland, with its stern contractions, is like the Attic of Thucydides; the Southern English, with its love of vowels and dislike of the clipping process, resembles the Ionic of Herodotus. The work we have now in hand, being written far to the South of the Mercian Danelagh, holds fairly well by the Old English forms; thus, instead of the Peterborough *ðe*, we find the older *se*, *si*, *þat*; and we sometimes meet with the old Dative Plural in *um*, though the old Genitive is often replaced by the form with *of*, and the endings of Verbs are often clipped. A guess may be given as to the place where these Homilies were adapted to the common speech. Forms like *fer* (ignis) and *gelt* (scelus) point to some shire near Kent. The combination *ie*, used by King Alfred, is here found; for *chiesen* (eligere), *hiert* (cor), *rien* (pluvia), and *bienn* (esse), with many similar words, occur; this *ie* does not appear later, except in Kent and Essex. We may perhaps pitch upon London as the place where these Homilies were compiled; we know that many Danes were settled in that city, drawn thither by the same attraction that allured them to Havre and Waterford long before King Canute's day. It would seem that from this Danish settlement some little clipping and paring of English words must have resulted; in the present work we see the *an* of the Infinitive pared away, as in *come* (venire), *ȝief* (dare), *write* (scribere), *do* (facere), *abide* (manere). In other parts of the South, the old ending of the Infinitive lingered on until Caxton's press, and even later; the poetic Earl of Surrey writes 'I dare well *sayen*,' and there is an instance of the same form thirty years later still in a common letter. The endings of

other tenses of the Verb are clipped; we find *cêr we gô* and *wer* (erant). As to this last Verb, I would remark that we have turned the Singular number *wæs* into *was*, the Plural number *wæron* into *were*; the corruption of the old diphthong is due, in the former case to the North, in the latter to the South. Another strong token of Danish influence is in page 219; we there see not only the Old English form *tioðe* (decimus), but the Danish *n* intruding into the word, as *teonðe*; the Danish *sefentixe* at p. 229 replaces the true Old English *hund seofontig*. The word *æ* (lex) was dropping out of use; so the Danish *laga* (our *law*) is given as an explanation of the older word.

New forms are found here which have already appeared in the North, such as *þu ahst* (debes), *boðe*, *bread*, *for* (enim), *þerfor*, *anoþer*, *seiþ*, *anon*, *na þing*, *he haþ ibî* (he hath been), *had*, *he wercte*, *me* (man), *for to*, *abêc* (in Gothic *ibukai*, our *aback*); *in the* is shortened into *iðe*. Shakspeare has '*digged i' the dark*.' English dislikes *n* coming before a *th*, and long before this time had turned the old Aryan *danta* or *tontha* into *toð*, our *tooth*. *Hwær* is made to do duty for a Relative as in the North; in p. 241 we read of '*þe funte wer* (ubi) he ifulled his.' *Oj* is used most freely instead of the old Genitive. The Northern combination *ei* is found, as in *þeigne* and *eiȝðer*; we have not very often kept this.[1]

I have hitherto spoken of Danish and Northern in-

[1] We keep the true old sound of *ei* in words like *eight*; but *either* is hopelessly degraded; it is sometimes given as a puzzle in pronunciation, whether the *ei* here should be sounded like the German *ei* or the French *i*. Our *ai* preserves the true old sound.

fluence, as seen in these Homilies, and as bearing upon the question of the place where they were written. I now mark other new letters and forms, here to be seen.

The old *æ* was corrupted into *a* or *e*; instead of *wæter* we find both *water* and *weter*. The diphthong sometimes became *ai* or *eȝ*; we see both *mai* and *meȝ* for the old *mæg* (possum); *æt* (manducavit) becomes *æat*; on the other hand, *lædde* (duxit) becomes *ledde*. The *a* was sometimes turned into *e*, for *þes* (the Latin *hi*) replaces *þâs*; the *y* sometimes became *e* (a mark of the South East), for we find *evyl and bedele*, instead of the old *yfel and bydel*; King Alfred's *ie* appears once more, and was used henceforward in Kent and Essex; we here see *chiese* (p. 114) for *ceosan*. We find a change that is for ages the sure mark of a Southern dialect; namely, the turning of *i* or *y* into *u*. Thus *cwic*, *mycele*, and *swipen*[1] here become *cwuce*, *mucele*, and *swupen*. This change has not greatly affected our Standard English, except that we use the Southern *much* and *such* instead of the old *mycel* and *swylc*. In Anglo-Saxon dictionaries we often find two sets of forms for one word; as *wiht*, *wuht*, *byrig*, *burug*, *bigan*, *bugan*; it may be that this difference of vowels, if carefully searched out, would help to fix the shire where the works in question were compiled. The vowel *i* is found to the North, the vowel *u* to the South, of the Great Sundering Line; it is strange that these are replaced by *e* near Shrewsbury and also near London. It is curious to mark in Stratmann's Dictionary the three forms taken in various shires by words like *cun*, *fur*, *sunne*, *gult*.

[1] This old word survives among cricketers only, who make good *swipes*.

In these Homilies we see *berieles*, *cenne*, and *melstanent*; the first *e* in each of these words is something new in the South, and we still keep the sound of this *e* in *beriel* (burial), and also the sound of the old *i* in *þri* and *isi* (three and see). We further find *o* replaced by *u*, for *tu us* (ad nos) may be seen, which *tu* we still pronounce as it is written in these Homilies. No English word has undergone more changes than *sceâwian* in its progress to our present *show*; we here see *sceawode* become *scewede* (p. 227); *eow* is seen as *ȝeu*. There is a tendency to drop the vowel altogether at the end of the Weak Participle Passive; *gelœfod* becomes *ȝelifd*, almost as we pronounce *left* now.

The letter *o* in this work begins to supplant the old *a*, though not often. This corruption is found in full vigour a hundred years later both in Suffolk and Dorset. Some town lying nearly half-way between the two shires may have given birth to the new form. We now find *mor*, *long*, *non*, *ogen* (own), and *haligost*, for the old *már*, *lang*, *nán*, *ágen*, and *hálig gást*. Moreover, as we learn from the Conqueror's English Charter to London, the great city was the abode of a large French-speaking population. From these men (Becket's father was one of them), it seems likely that their English fellow-subjects learned to turn the hard *c* into the soft *ch*; *ceósan* and *rice* into *chiésen* and *riche*. Long before this time, the French *castel* had become *chastel*.[1] The *ch* comes into other parts of the word; *moche*, a form long peculiar to the London neighbourhood, appears as well as *mucele*.

[1] The French *escole* (schola) appears in these *Homilies* (p. 243) as *iscole*.

The changes of the *a* and the *c*, most sparingly found as yet, are the two main corruptions that our Standard English has borrowed from the South. There is another sound of *ch* found here, as at Peterborough, in words like *burch*, *richtwis*, and *lichte*; the Old and New are mingled in *ȝeworhcte*; this *ch* when following vowels took the hard sound, which it still keeps in the Scotch Lowlands. The *h* is of near kin to *c*; it is here often wrongly used, or dropped at the beginning of words; we see *wa* for *hwa*, *wic* for *hwylc*, *ham* (sum) for *am*; *wat* (quid) has held its ground in London till this day. Let us hope that speakers of good English will never drop the sound of *h* in *hwæt*, *hwat*. The *g* undergoes change, as at Peterborough; *genoh* and *agên* become *innoh* and *aȝênes*; we also see *oȝeð* (debemus) and *modinesse*. The Peterborough *twiges* (bis) has become *twîes*; this *es* was to be constantly added on to words for the next 140 years; *aȝênes*, as I said before, replaces *agên*. The *g* is softened into *y* or *i*, especially at the beginning of Past Participles. The letter ȝ appears to replace the old hard *g*, and it lasted for 350 years; we see *ȝe* and *ȝeur* for the old *ge* and *eower*. This new letter adds to our store of words; we may talk both of a *guild* and of the *yield* of fields, both words coming from the old *gildan* (solvere). There is a curious interchange of letters in *his acennende* (generatio); this last word stands for the old verbal noun *acennung*. Fourscore years later the aforesaid interchange of *g* and *d* was to work a baleful effect upon the old Active Participle. The *n* also is much clipped; *on* or *an* is often pared down into *a*, and our shortened Indefinite Article is now first found; *mîn* and *þîn* are

out down into *mi* and *ti*; the old *mylnstân* becomes *melstanent* (p. 241); after this the *miln*, still found in the Scottish Lowlands, became *mulle* in Gloucestershire, about 1300. We have still both *Milner* and *Miller* as proper names. The *f* is also cast out; *haδ* (habet) replaces *hæfδ*; there is also *had*. But no word underwent so much clipping as *ealswa*; it is here cut down into *alse*, and then into *as*, the speediest of all our changes. We find in these Homilies forms like *alse long se* and *alse longe as*; the *w* is thrown out of *swa*, for we read *sa ful* (p. 233). The *l* is moreover thrown out in *swylc*, *hwylc*, and *mycel*, which now become *swice*, *wice*, and *moche*; further changes were to come forty years later. The letter *s* is dropped at the end of the word, for *byrgels* (sepulchrum) becomes *beriel*, whence comes our *burial*.

On turning from the changes in sound to the changes in the words themselves, we find that the *u*, with which many Nouns formerly ended, is turned into *en*; *cildru* becomes *cyldren*. The South of England, unlike the North, always loved the Plural in *en*, of which the Germans are so fond. *Hatrede* is found for the first time, as well as *hate*. In page 231 the Substantive is dropped altogether after the Adjective, *þat hi alle be þe lâtst to þa dęzie þer were*; here *time* would in former days have followed *lâtst*; we should now say, 'at the latest.' The whole sentence quoted is worth study; we still say 'you must be there to the day,' a very old usage of *to*. The *of* is used more freely than ever; we see not only the old *his gastes ȝife*, but the new *ȝief of his gaste* (the gift of his Spirit); there is also *sicer of* (sure of), where

the *of* expresses the Latin *de* (anent); this *sicer* had not appeared since Alfred's time.

A startling change has taken place in Pronouns; we now find the first use of one of our New English Relatives. *Hwâ* and *hwylc* had never been so employed of yore; they answered to the Latin *quis*, not to *qui*; but our tongue had now come under French influence. As yet, the Genitive and Dative only of *hwâ*, not the Nominative, are used in the Relative sense. We saw before that *hwæt* in Old English answers to *aliquid*; we now see it used for *quà . . . quà*, the Romance *que . . . que*; in page 237, we read, that they *beoð icôme, wat frend, wat fâ.* In the year 1300 we shall meet with a further step in the development of this *what. Enough* is now followed by the Gerundial Infinitive; *ælc had innoh to donne* (p. 239).

There are some changes in the Verb; we see the true Southern Shibboleth, the Active Participle ending in *inde*, as *birnind* for the old *birnende.* Still, so early as the year 1000, we find *ûtgangynde* in St. Matt. ix. 31. Another mark of the South is the clipping the *n* at the end of Past Participles; we here find *icome* (ventum), *ȝecnôwe.* (notum), and others, such as *ibi* for *gewesen.* This in a short time prevailed all over Southern England; and we may still hear 'it is broke,' and such like, as I have said before. In these Homilies we find *come* (venerunt), *come* (venire), and *icome* (ventum), all three. This is a specimen of Danish clipping. The sentence *macede hine bliðe* (p. 233) shows the construction that led to our *make merry.* The verb *dôn* is used for *ponere*; *don hine into þiesterness* is in p. 239.

In the older English, 'to live life' may be found; we now further see, *deað swelten.*

One change, here seen very clearly, is so strange that I must return to it. An Old English word sometimes, in this period of Middle English, is split up into two or three different forms, each with its own meaning. Thus, we here find *ealswa* becoming the parent, not only of *also* (etiam), but of *as* (ut). Chaucer sometimes uses both *so* and *as* for the Latin *ut* in the same sentence. This splitting is called *bifurcation* or *two-pronging*. Thus we find *ân* splitting up into *one* and *a*, a process often repeated. Some of the grammars, which delude the youth of England, still tell us that the article *a* becomes *an* before a consonant!

A few lines on The Grave, printed by Mr. Thorpe in his 'Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,' p. 142, seem to belong to this time. Here we find for the first time in English the word *lah* or *lage* (humilis): 'Hit bið unheh and *lah*; ðe hele-wages beoð *lage*.' The Scandinavian and Frisian have words akin to this. Fourscore years later, we find the verb *to lazhenn* (to lower); and almost two hundred years further on, we light on *bi loogh* (below). We thus in Chaucer's time compounded a new preposition out of an adjective.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About 1160.)

We now skip thirty years, and once more return to the neighbourhood of Rutland. The Peterborough Chronicle seems to have been laid aside for many years

after 1131. England was at this time groaning under some of the worst sorrows she has ever known; we have come to the nineteen winters when Stephen was King. As soon as these evil days were over, and England had begun her happy course (this has lasted, with but few checks, for more than seven hundred years[1]), the Peterborough monks went on with their Chronicle. Their language was becoming more and more corrupt; but the picture they set before us of King Stephen's reign is a marvel of power, and shows the sterling stuff that a Monastic writer often had in him.

The English, which we are now to weigh, dates from about the year 1160. We here find forms that remind us of the North, such as *wua sua* (quicunque); we still pronounce the *u*, though we write *o*, in *who*; *all* replaces the former *eall*; *k* is found instead of *c*, as *smoke* and *snake*. From the South came forms such as the clipped Infinitive, *cumm*, *sei*; also *onoh* (satis), *ażenes*, *alse*, *hi namm*; *get* (gotten); in these two last the inflection is gone. The *h* is clipped, for *wile* and *it* replace *hwile* and *hit*; the Southern *o* encroaches upon *a*, for *more*, *onne*, replace the old *mâr*, *ân*; this last is sometimes cut down into *a*. The *n* is clipped: there is both *nan treuthe* and *na justise*. Still the Midland Participle in *end* is kept, as *ridend*. *Enough*, as in the South, is followed by the Gerundial Infinitive. The old *eow* is changed into *eu* and *eo*; for we see both *treuthe* and *treothe* for *treowð*, towards the beginning of the year 1137. We still keep both *truth* and *troth*.

[1] Even our few civil wars have commonly in the end furthered the good estate of the realm.

As to new combinations of Vowels: *æ* is often replaced by *a*; as *he bare, he was, he spac*; *on slep* becomes *an slep*, not far from our *asleep*; *eo* becomes *u*, for *sculde* (should) replaces *sceolde*; it becomes *e*, as in *held* (tenuit). *Nearo* is turned into *nareu*. The combination *ou* is seen, which was in the end to encroach so much upon the old *u*, as is now seen in *our* (ur), *house* (hus), and many such. We now find *Gloucestre, nouðer, Poitou, Angou*, following the *ouðer* (oðer) of 1120; the extended use of this *ou* must be due to France. The true East Midland system of contraction is seen in the French word *castles*, written instead of *castelas*.

There is a change in Consonants. The old *ic* (ego) is now *i*; on the other hand, *c* is inserted, for *seo* (illa) becomes *scæ* (she); a most curious addition. In the account of the year 1138 we see a combination of letters, most common now in our speech; the Alfred's supplants *g* and *h*; as *sloghen* (they slew). This soon prevailed all over the East of England from London to Yorkshire. The *g* is sometimes thrown out in the middle of a word; *Bristowe* (Bristol), and *liẹn*, replace *Bricgstow* and *liggen*; this *g* sometimes yields to *y* or *i*, as in the new *winiærd* and *iaf* (dedit). The letter *b* is inserted in *ðuman*, which becomes *þumbes*; the foreign *qu* sometimes replaces the home-born *cw*, as in *quarterne*; *th* is often found for the good old *þ* and *ð*. A *w* is cast out, when *suster* is written for *swuster* (soror).

As to Substantives: *nefan* becomes *neves*; the Irish peasantry still keep this Teutonic form, *nevvies*, rejecting our French-born word *nephews*. The Dative in *um* is sadly mauled; *bi the fet* replaces *bi fotum*; we also see

mid fœu men. The Dative and Accusative are hopelessly confused; in the year 1132, we read, *iaf þæt abbotrice an prior*; in 1135, *pais he makede men.*

In Verbs: *can* and *cuthe* are used freely in the sense of the old *may* and *might*, just as Tyndale was to employ them later. In 1132, we read, *he dide him faren* (he made him fare); in the old time, the Gerund with *to* would have been used after *dide*, and not this Infinitive. In the beginning of 1140, we read, *he iaf him alse he dide alle oðre*; this is a continuation of the idiom employed long before by King Alfred. At the end of the year 1140 is found, *he helde him for fader and he him for sune*; here the verb is left out, which should stand between the seventh and eighth words; we catch a glimpse of the future freedom of construction in the New English. The transitive *hôn* is a Strong verb, and its rightful Perfect is *heng*; in the year 1137 this Perfect is confused with the intransitive *henged* (hanged); the jumbling of these two Perfects is often found in our day.

The word *æfre* (semper) is prefixed to *ælc*, which last already contained within itself *â*, another form of *semper*; *ævric* (every) is the result; a hint of this word has appeared before. But this newfangled addition *ever* was usually to come at the end of words. The word *al* is also often here prefixed to other words, as *alsuilc als*, and this became a common practice later. We have before met with '*some* of the scribes;' we now read of *mani of þe castles.*'

What was before written *ealgeador* (omnino) now becomes *altegædere*. A new phrase, *nevre mare*, is found;

here *more* is applied to express time. The word *efsones*, with the usual adverbial *es* at the end, is a new word which lasted many hundred years in England as *eftsoons*.

A new construction of Prepositions is seen in *candles to æten bi*. We have before seen the Relative omitted, coming before a Gerundial Infinitive (see page 71), but we now further see, besides the omission of the Relative, the Preposition made the last word in the sentence. This gives wonderful freedom to our construction of sentences; Orrmin, forty years later, was often to imitate this idiom, which seems to be Danish.

The *noht* (non), which had already been used with verbs instead of the old *ne*, is now seen once more, as in 1132, *was it noht lang*. We find *to þæt* (usque ad) used; and also the Anglian and Danish *til*, which is now no longer followed by *þæt; til hi iafen up* comes at the beginning of 1137; thus *til* imitated the new construction of *for*, and was soon to make an end of the Old English *oð þæt* (usque).

The old *þe hwîle þe* lasted down to 1300 in Gloucestershire, but it is pared down at Peterborough; for we read *wile Stephne was king*; thus an old substantive is made to express the Latin *dum*.

More Danish forms crop up; we find *cyrceiærd* (kirkyard) formed on the Danish pattern, instead of the Old English *circtune*. When King Stephen lays hold of Earl Randolph, he is said to act through *wicci rede*. This is the first appearance in our island of the common word *wicked*, a word derived by Mr. Wedgwood from Lapland or Esthonia. The verb *take* is employed in its old Scandinavian sense. In that tongue, *hann tók at*

yrkja means 'he took (began) to work.' In the Chronicle for 1135 we read *David toc to wessien.* A glance at Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary will show many senses of *take*, which are not found in Old English books, but which are now common to England and to Iceland. In 1135 we see *tocan þa oðre and helden her castles* (the others took and held); this *take* replaced the old *fang* (a verb that still lingers in Devonshire); we hear that King Henry II. *toc to þe rice.*

There is a new word, *scatter*, akin to the Dutch *schetteren.* King Stephen, we are told, in the year 1137, had treasure, but *scatered sotlice*, that is 'dispersed it like a fool.'

EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1160.

Extract from the Peterborough Chronicle for the year 1137, compiled about twenty years later.

. . . . . .

Þa the suikes undergæton þat he milde man was and
When traitors understood
softe and god and na iustise ne dide. þa diden hi alle
good no then they
wunder. Hi hadden him manred maked and athes
homage made oaths
suoren. ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden. alle hi wæron for-
but held
sworen. and here treothes forloren. for æuric rice man
forfeited every mighty
his castles makede and agænes him heolden and fylden
against
þe land ful of castles. Hi suencten suyðe þa uurecce
oppressed sore wretched

men of þe land mid castelweorces. Þa þe castles uuaren
castle-works *were*
maked. þa fylden hi mid deoules and yvele men. Þa
devils
namen hi þa men þe hi wenden þat ani god hefden. bathe
took *they thought* *property* *had*
be nihtes and be dæies. carlmen and wimmen. and diden
men *put*
heom in prisun efter gold and sylver. and pined heom
them *for* *tortured*
untellendlice pining. for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs
unspeakable *torture* *no*
swa pined alse hi wæron. Me henged up bi the fet and
as they
smoked heom mid ful smoke. me henged bi the thumbes.
foul
other bi the hefed. and hengen bryniges on her fet. Me
or *head* *hung* *burning things*
dide cnotted strenges abuton here hæved. and uurythen
head *twisted*
to þat it gæde to þe hærnes. Hi diden heom in quar-
went *brains* *prison*
terne. þar nadres and snakes and pades wæron inne. and
where adders *toads*
drapen heom swa. Sume hi diden in cruœet hus. þat is
killed *Some* *house*
in an ceste þat was scort and nareu and undep. and dide
chest *short* *shallow*
scærpe stanes þerinne. and þrengde þe man þerinne. þat
sharp stones *crushed*
him brœcon all þe limes. In mani of þe castles wæron
broke *limbs*
lof and grim þat wæron rachenteges. þat twa other thre
neck-bonds *or*
men hadden onoh to bæron onne. Þat was sua maced.
enough *one*

þat is fæstned to an beom. and diden an scærp iren abuton þa mannes þrote and his hals. þat he ne myhte nowiderwardes ne sitten ne lien ne slepen. oc bæron al þat iren. Mani þusen hi drapen mid hungær. I ne canne i nemai tellen alle þe wundes. ne alle þe pines þat hi diden wrecce men on þis land. and þat lastede þa XIX. wintre wile Stephne was king. and ævre it was uuerse and uuerse. . . .

neck *in any* *direction* *lie* *but* *thousands* *worse*

1154.—On þis gær wærd þe king Steph. ded. and bebyried þer his wif and his sune wæron bebyried æt Fauresfeld. þæt minstre hi makeden. þa þe king was ded. ða was þe eorl beionde sæ. and ne durste nan man don oþer bute god. for þe micel eie of him.

was *awe*

The year 1135. Micel þing sculde *cumm.*
Æuric man sone rævede.
Wua sua bare his byrthen.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About 1160.)[1]

Ure feder þet in heouene is,
þet is al soð ful iwis.
weo moten to þeos weordes iseon.
þet to liue and to saule gode beon.

[1] *Old English Homilies*, First Series (Early English Text Society), p. 55.

þet weo beon swa his sunes iborene.
þet he beo feder and we him icorene.
þet we don alle his ibeden.
and his wille for to reden.
Loke weo us wið him misdon
þurh beelzebubes swikedom
he haueð to us muchel nið.
alle þa deies of ure sið.
abuten us he is for to blenchen.
Mid alle his mihte he wule us swenchen.
Gif we leornið godes lare.
þenne ofþuncheð hit him sare.
Bute we bileuen ure ufele iwune.
Ne ȝepeð he noht þet we beon sune.
Gif we clepieð hine feder þenne.
al þet is us to lutel wunne.
halde we godes laȝe.
þet we habbeð of his saȝe.

. . . .

Page 75. Ic ileue in god þe fede(r) almihti. scuppende and weldende of heouene and of orðe and of alle iscefte. and ich ileue on þe helende crist. his enlepi sune. ure lauerd. he is ihaten helende for he moncun helede of þan depliche atter. þet þe alde deouel blou on adam and on eue and on al heore ofsprinkȝe. swa þet heore fif-falde mihte hom wes al binumen. þet is hore lust. hore loking. hore blawing. hore smelling. heore feling wes al iattret.

Page 53. Is afered *leste* þeo eorðe hire trukie.
„ 63. For þe saule *of him* is forloren.
„ 73. *Ech* mon habbe mot.
„ „ Heo sculen heore *bileue* cunnen
„ 83. Ðe sunne *schineð* þer þurh . .
„ „ Ho nimeð al *swuch.*

Page 127. *Muchele* mare luue he *scawede* us.
„ 141. Ðer stod a *richt* halue and a *luft*.
„ 145. *Techeð* us bi *hwiche* weie.
„ 179. Were we . . . . swa vuele *bicauhte*.
„ 129. Him þuhte *bicumelic* þet we . . . weren alesede.

The poem, part of which I have set out above, is the earliest long specimen of an English riming metre that is still popular.[1] Having been compiled somewhere about 1160, the work stands about half-way between the Beowulf and the last work of Mr. Tennyson. The French riming lays, of which our Norman and Angevin rulers were so fond, must have been the model followed by the English bard, whoever he was. In the same volume are many Homilies, which give us a good idea of the English spoken in the South at this time. The following are the main points of difference between them and the Homilies of Henry the First's time.

The old diphthong *æ*, beloved of our fathers, was being got rid of in the South; it is here replaced by *e*, *ei*, and *ea*; *læwede* becomes *lewed* (indoctus); *ægðer* becomes *eiðer*; while *sæ*, *æfre*, *lædan*, become *sea*, *eaver*,

[1] The English rimes, written before the Norman Conquest, must have been nothing but an exercise of ingenuity:—

Flah mah fliteð,
Flan man hwiteð,
Burg sorg biteð,
Bald ald ðwiteð,
Wræc-fæc wriðað.

This is a long poem, printed by Conybeare, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. xxiii.

leaden. The maintenance of the *ea*, so often used by us, is due to the Wessex shires; they even changed the French *pais* into *peace*. The old combination *ow*, sounded like the French *ou*, was also being altered; this may have come from imitating French spelling. Our word *Stow* was spelt in Doomsday Book as *Stou*, as I have already said; we now see *eower* (vester) become *eour*. We also find *strew, newe, bireusiað*. The sound *iou* (pronounced as in the name *Riou*), was a favourite one with our fathers; but we may remark that, when it comes after *r*, we now almost always sound it as if it was simply *ou*. The beginning of this change may be seen in these Homilies; we find *rouðe* (our *ruth*) in page 157; this seems a compromise between the Old English *hreôw* and the Danish *hrygð*. *Trowe* replaces *treowe* at page 69; and *heow* (color) becomes *hou*, our *hue*, at page 83. This same change is seen later in a Dorsetshire poem of 1240. We find both the old sound *bleu* and the new sound *blou* (flavit). In page 85 is *nowe* (novus), while *newe* occurs elsewhere; people still sometimes talk of what they call *noos*. *A* is here changed into *e*, as *penne* for *panne* (tunc). It is still oftener changed into *o*, a sure mark of the South; we see *among, mow, one, bemoned* (manned, page 23). The most curious thing is the change of *a* into *u*; at page 157 is found *wume* (væ mihi); while the old *wa* is seen in the sentence before. The old *prôwode* (passus est) is now written *prouwede* (page 17). The *u*, replacing *e* and *i*, is always a token of the shires to the South of the Great Sundering Line. This change comes very often in the Homilies. We here see *uch* instead of the Midland *ælc* or *each*; and

blupeliche for our *blithely*. The old *eaw* was now written *eu* and *ewe*; we find *deu* and *þewe* for the former *deaw* and *þeaw*. In page 103 stands *slewð* (sloth); and in page 107 comes *slauð*; this *au* was now coming in, and must have had the sound of the French *ou*; we light upon *blauwen*, *naut*, and *bicauhte*. The old *gylt* becomes *gult* in the South.

Many English words are now changed; as—

Old.	*New.*
Hæs	Heste
Gescy	Sceos (shoes)
Lêgere	Lihȝare (liar)
Sunnandæg	Sunedei
Feowerða	Forth
Geolo	ȝeluwe (yellow)
Handgeweorce	Hondiwork
Seocnes	Sicness
Slŷð	Slaȝeð (slayeth)
Wylð	Welleð

The letter *g* interchanges with *b*, for *geleafa* here takes its modern form *bileve* (belief); just as *gelitlian* was to become *belittle*; the English Imperative *geyc* (auge) is seen in Gothic as *biauk*. The *g* is also softened, as we saw before, into ȝ or *y*, and this rather later became *w* in many cases. *Sagu* is here seen as *saȝe*; we still have the phrase 'I have said my *say*.' In page 35 *esca* replaces *axe*. *H* is sometimes misused; *hester* stands for *Easter*, and *alf* for *half*. At page 139 the Peterborough *æveric* (quisque) is found in its new shape, *efri*; the East Midland corruptions were working down Southwards. The earlier *lengten* becomes *leinten*, our *Lent*; and *hnute* (nux) becomes *nute*. The new French *c* is used like the

English *s* in *milce* (mercy) and *milcien* (misereri). Hitherto *near* (propius) had been the Comparative of *neah* (prope); but we now see a form like *fir and neor* (far and near) at page 137; the *neor* points to Scandinavia.

France was now dictating much of our pronunciation, and many vowels must in this age have been sounded in the same way on either side of the Channel. *Ch* replaces *c* in countless instances. *Cerran* (verti) now becomes *cherre*; we still say 'on the *jar*.'[1] or *ajar*. We also find *chirche*, *leche*, *diche*, *teache*, *biseche* (beseech). Moreover, we see, in page 83, the two forms *scine* and *schine*), the last being a new sound now creeping into English. So popular did it become, that two hundred years later we forced French verbs in *ir* to take the sound, as *perish*. But the French *cabus* has become *cabbage*, just as Perusia became Perugia. The old *fiscas* is now seen as *fisses*. The corrupt forms of 1120, *swice*, *wice*, and *moche*, now became *swulc*, *swuche*, and *sulche* (such); *wilche*, and *hwiche*; *muche* and *muchel*. *Ælc* (quisque) takes its modern shape of *elche* and *eche*; and *an* is fastened on to it, though as yet very seldom. Thus, at page 91, we read 'heo it delden *elchun*;' that is, to *each one*. *Latost* (ultimus) is cut down to *leste* at page 143; and *þy læs þe* is shortened into *leste*, which we still keep; this is like throwing out the *quo* in the Latin *quominus*. *If* replaces the old *gif*; the first is the Scandinavian *ef*, the Gothic *ïð*.

We sometimes find *v* substituted for *f* at the be-

[1] *Pickwick* will keep this alive for ever. Mr. Justice Stareleigh can have been no student of Anglo-Saxon.

ginning of a word, as *vette* for *fette*, page 81. It is the influence of the South-Western shires that makes us write *vixen* and *vat* instead of the old *fixen* and *fæt*; it is a wonder that we do not write *vox* for *fox*.

In Substantives, the corruption of Plurals goes on; *wîf* (mulieres) becomes *wifes*. The old endings were dying out, for in page 83 *hælend* becomes *helere*, our *healer*.

We see a new Adjective in page 27; *Godfurht*, our *God-fearing*.

In Verbs, we sometimes find the Midland *beon* and *hafon*, instead of the Southern *beoth* (sunt), and *habben* (habent); this seems to show that these Homilies could not have been written far South of the Great Sundering Line; it may be, at Oxford; the Participle *iturned* becomes *iturnd* at page 157, with the clipped sound that we now use, except at church. The Perfect *ahte*, not the Present *âge*, stands for *debet*; this had travelled to the South from Yorkshire. We have the first hint of our *ado* (at do) at page 77; *mon mid me nefde to donne*; 'man had not to (at) do with me.' We see at page 71 a new idiom, *þole us to bewepen*; this would have been earlier, 'suffer that we weep.' Again, at page 59, *fuzel lete he makede*; 'he made fowl lout (stoop);' this would have been earlier, 'he did fowl to lout.' What was before simply *læt þæt yfel*, is now *let þet uvele beon*; we still say 'let him be,' as well as 'let him alone.' There is a new idiom in page 45; *weren efterward milce*, 'were after mercy;' a construction strangely different from the Latin *petebant*. The most startling of all new idioms come at page 11; we are there told that Moses fasted,

and ec Crist hit walde habben idon. In the older English *wolde don* must have stood for both *faceret* and *fecisset*; we now see the first attempt made at forming our usual Pluperfect Subjunctive. The new idiom did not become common in England until 1290; the above sentence of 1160 seems something born out of due time. It is a French construction, most alien to the old Teutonic.

As to Pronouns: we read *sum of þe sede* in page 133; *sum of* might have been followed of old by a Plural, but it is now for the first time followed by a Singular. We have seen the new Singular Relative *hwa* used in the Homilies of 1120; we now see the Plural of this, *ȝeten þurh hwam*, 'gates through which' (page 153), and we find moreover the neuter *hwat* employed for the first time in a Relative sense in Southern England; *Godes worde, for hwat* (per quod) *he scal vorsaken*, &c. (page 81). We should now say *which*, not *what*; but it was a long time before this was settled; we may still say, 'what (*quod*) I did was this.'

Change is at work among the Adverbs. At page 35 we see *ic walde fain pinian*, 'I would fain pine;' here the Adjective is used as an adverb, (*libenter*). At p. 53, we find in two lines both the new *alse feire alse* and the older *swa sone se*; here the *swa* of right has no business to be. *Oðerlicor* now becomes *oðer-weis* (page 31). The Latin *quum* was of old Englished by *þa* or *þo*, more seldom by *hwænne* (quando); but in these Homilies *when* often translates *quum*, and three centuries later it swept away its rivals altogether.

As to Prepositions: *of* is in constant use, a sure mark of the decay of Old English; *saule of him* is put for *his soul*, simply to eke out a rime (hence came our *for the*

life of me); the *of* is sometimes used as an Adverb, with a new spelling, as at page 29, *ȝif þin hefet were offe* Here our New English has split one old word into two prongs, *of* and *off*. Moreover, we turn this *off* into an Adjective, *the off horse, an off day*. Before this time, *of* was set before the substantive, standing for material; as *wrought of gold*. But now this idiom is stretched further; at page 123, we find *he makede us freo of þeowan*; 'he made us free instead of our being thralls.' At page 87, we see an early instance of *go to*; we read *iwende Godes engel to*. We find *up* followed by another Preposition, *snawe up et mine chinne*, 'snow up to my chin.' *At* (ad) and *to* are always interchanging; at page 143 comes *he makeð twa to an*, 'he maketh two (to be) at one,' an idiom kept in our Bible. We find not only *þurh*, but *þurhut* (throughout). This had four hundred years' start of the corresponding High German *durchaus*. The old *on efn* now takes an *es* at the end of the word (a process often repeated in Middle English), and is seen at page 55 as *anundes*, the later *anentis* or *anent*.

We see *wa is me* in page 35; the Scotch prefer the old *wea* to *wa*, in pronouncing this Interjection, the Latin *væ mihi*.

As to the pronunciation of these Homilies: there is *wik* (hebdomada), *grik* (Græcus), *feren* (ire), *spec* (dixit); foreshadowing our modern utterance of these words. We find many instances of words getting a new meaning. *Bicuman*, which of old stood for *accidere* (what will become of us ?) now Englishes both *decere* and *fieri* (pages 45 and 47); in the latter case, the French *devenir* must have been imitated. The old *hlot*

meant nothing but *sors*; a new meaning is given to the word at page 31, where we read of *a þridde lot* (tertia *pars*); this comes from the Scandinavian *hluti*, differing from *hlutr* (sors). The word *hræðre* (rather) meant *citius*; it now gets the further meaning of *potius*; at page 45 is *milcie þes þe redþer þet*, &c. The old *sælig* meant *beatus*; in these Homilies it takes the sense of *sapiens*, page 31; but this meaning is not found elsewhere; the word is in our day degraded as *stultus*, our *silly*, the exact opposite of what is seen here. I think that this is almost the only instance of one English word acquiring two directly opposite meanings at different times. We shall further see that it meant both *felix* and *infelix* in the Thirteenth Century. The old *scéadan* (separare) now gets the sense of *fundere* (page 157); the former meaning still lingers in *watershed*. *Stœlwyrð* used to mean 'worth stealing;' at page 25 it gets its new sense, *validus*: perhaps it was confounded with *staðelferhð*. The verb *sceáwian* loses its old meaning *spectare*, and gets its new sense *monstrare*, though we still call *spectaculum* a *show*. We know that the word *afford* has puzzled our antiquaries; we find it employed in these Homilies, page 37: 'do þine elmesse of þon þet þu maht *iforðien*.' Bishop Pecock uses *avorthi* in this sense three hundred years later. The old *geforðian* meant only 'to further or help.' Here, at least, we need not seek for help from France.[1] The substantive *cachepol* may be seen, in page 97, applied to St. Matthew's old trade. The verb *catch* is found for the first time with its Past

[1] This was first pointed out by Dr. Morris in the *Athenæum*.

Participle *cauhte*; this Mr. Wedgwood derives from the Picard *cacher*, meaning the same as *chasser*. There is hardly another instance of an English Verb, coming from the French, not ending with *ed* in the Past Participle.[1]

We may often find an old pedigree for a word that is now reckoned slangy. We are told at page 15 that we ought to *restrain* the evil done by thieves; the verb used is *wiðstewen*, afterwards repeated as *stewen* in the Legend of St. Margaret. Hence comes the phrase, '*stow* that nonsense;' this may be found in Scott and Dickens.[2] Our verb *lick*, as used in polite society, can boast of the best of Teutonic pedigrees; as commonly used by schoolboys, it is but a corruption of the Welsh *llachiaw* (ferire). From this last may also come our *flog*, even as Lloyd and Floyd are due to one and the same source.

Some Danish words and forms had crept Southwards. Thus *wenge* (alæ) is seen instead of the Old English *fyðru* (page 81); *tidinge*, the Danish *tiðindi*, our *tidings* (page 77); our *amiss*, the Icelandic *á mis*, is first seen at page 57, under the form of *onimis*, that is, *on amiss*. Three Scandinavian words, *skill*, *cast*, and *thrust*, may be seen at pages 61, 47, 131. To *put* is found at pages 15 and 53; in the former instance it means *trudere*; in the latter *capere*, not far from *ponere*, our sense of the word; it seems to come from the Celtic *pouta*: there is also a Danish *putten*, and some point us to the French *bouter*. *Put* is a Southern word, and has now much

[1] Can *cacher* have got confounded with the Old English *gelæccan*, *gelæht*, meaning the same?

[2] In *Hard Times* comes the phrase, 'Kidderminster, *stow* that;' *i.e.* 'be quiet.'

encroached on the true Old English *set* and *do*. The puzzle about its derivation shows how many sources have contributed to form our language. The various meanings of *box* come from Latin, Old English, and Scandinavian.

There are a few words, now first found, that we have in common with the German and other kindred tongues. Such a word is *wiðstewen*. At page 43 we see our *smother* (there called *smorðer*), which is nearer akin to the Low German of the mainland than to the Old English *smorian*. Our forefathers used to express the Latin *sinister* by *wynstre*, something *wanting* in full strength; in these Homilies this is changed into *luft* (left), to which we still cling. This is the Dutch *luft* or *lucht*, an early instance of the interchange between *c* and *f* (see page 86 of my book). We first find *more* (radix) at p. 103; this word is common to Germany and to Southern England; it was used by Hampshire witnesses on the impostor Orton's trial, in 1873. Another exclusively Southern word is 'ne *studed* hom nawiht' (p. 77), 'it bestead them naught;' this is the Icelandic *styðja* (fulcire).

The Moral Ode, printed along with these Homilies, (page 159), is a transcript of some long English riming poem, written about 1120. I think the date cannot be put earlier than this, since the poem has the French words *serve* and *caught*; the date cannot be much later, since in one copy we find *se þe* (he that), a token of great age; this was remarked by Dr. Morris. It is plain that this Ode was transcribed a few years later than the Homilies; for *ouh* here replaces *oh*, as in *nouhte* and

þoulite (nought and thought); *inou* stands for the old *genoh*. There is also *w* instead of *g* and *h*; *folewed* for *folȝode* (p. 179), *lawe* for *lage* (p. 177), *sorȝwe* for *sorh* (p. 181); these are new Southern corruptions.[1] In line 347 are the words *uniȝe tozeanes*; the *ie* of the first points to the South East of England, the *ea* of the second to the South West. The Ode must have been transcribed at some place like Reading, lying on the borders of the two. Never did any tongue employ so many variations of vowels as the Middle English did, to represent the French sound *ē*; the form *thief* came from the South East, *leaf* from the South West, *reef* from the North; the enquiring foreign student must be much puzzled by these products of the different shires, which all helped to shape our Standard English.

The interchange between *o* and *u*, so often found in English, was now affecting the South; we see *lof* for *lufed* (amavit) in line 257, and *iwoned* for *iwunod* (solitus) in line 57; hence our *wont*. In line 361 *fah* becomes *fou*. The old *an* (solus) is replaced by *one*, and *þo* stands for *þa* (illi); this *þo* lingered on in the South down to the Reformation, when the Yorkshire *those* drove it out; the other form, *thae*, still lives in Scotland. *On lif* (in vitâ) is now seen as *alive*, in line 21; yet our lexicon-makers, even to this day, will have it that *alive* is an Adjective; they might say as much of *abed* and *ashore*. The old *gelīce* becomes *iliche* (line 377), our *alike*.

The form *alse wel se* (as well as) is in line 70.

[1] The verb *gnagan* (rodere) became *gnaw* in the South; but the old form *gnag* remained in the North, and is our *nag*; the latter verb, unlike *gnaw*, is not reckoned classic English.

There is a wholly new form in line 130, *a hwilke time se evre*, 'on what time so ever;' the *ever* was seen before prefixed to *ælc* (every), but it was henceforth tacked on behind Pronouns like *what, whoso*, &c. Did those who brought this in think of *unquam* and the Latin *quicunque*? The *hwilke*, (which,) seems here to be set apart to be coupled with a Neuter Substantive. The Nominative *hwa* is used for *qui* for the first time in line 133; *moni mon hwa recheð*.

We have seen the Suffix *ever*: we may once more see the Prefix *al* in line 144; our fathers were fond of setting this *al* before *to* (nimis); we here see *alto dore*, 'all too dear.' They went on to place it before another *to*, the *to* answering to the German *zer*; one solitary relic of this remains in our Bible, happily spared by the revisers of Tyndale, a lover of the old form; we learn that a stone *all to-brake* (Abimelech's) *skull*.

We have already seen *never more* at Peterborough; we now see *evre ma*, evermore.

As to Prepositions: we find a repetition of the new idiom in the Chronicle, 'nothing was seen of him;' *of* often follows *to hear*, but seldom *to see*. In line 381 is *þo scullen more of him seon*; 'see of the travail of his soul' comes in our Bible. In line 18 we read *eie stondeð men of monne*, which, if literally turned into Latin, would be *timor stat hominibus de homine*; we have now changed the construction, and say *men stand in awe of man*. The old *ymbe* (the Greek *amphi*) was used as a Preposition down to 1400, and still lives in *umquhile*; but we here see *about* beginning to encroach upon it; in line 267, *they weren abuten echte*,

'they were busy about property.' This foreshadows our Future Participle, 'he is *about* to tempt.' What was before *to soðe* now becomes *for soðe* (forsooth) in line 174.

In line 132 we see *muchel he haveð to beten*, 'he has much to atone for.' The *have* here seems to halt between the meanings of *possidere* and *debere*, and reminds us of the change in the old Northumbrian *agan*. In line 302 there is *ich kan beo, ȝif I scal, liache*; 'I can be a leech, if I be called on, or if it be my duty.' The *scal* here explains a story in Mr. Earle's 'Philology of the English Tongue,' p. 204; a farmer drove a corner *borne* into the ground, and then said, 'That one'll stand for twenty years, if he *should*!' This old sense of *shall* seems to have been kept in Wessex alone.

The Gerundial Infinitive now follows an Adjective; in line 39 comes *siker to habben*, 'sure to have.'

In line 137 we see how *barely* came to translate the Latin *vix*; we read of *twa bare tide*, two bare hours, or barely two hours.

The process of the formation of new words may here be watched. We have seen the first appearance of our *wrang*, wrong; *wis* is now added to it, just as *riht* became *rihtwis*. In line 256 we hear of *wrongwise reven*; the Scotch long kept the word *wrangous*, corrupted much as *righteous* is; they also coined *timeous* (opportunus).

We find an old English Verb, *wealtian* (welter), which has another form *wealtȝn*, the Latin *volvere*. This last takes the new meaning of *ambulare* in line 237; *hi walkeð evre*. The old *begetan* meant *adipisci*; it now gets the sense of *generare* in line 105, *hwi weren ho bigeten? Cunig* (coney), akin to a German word, now appears.

Before leaving the South, we may glance at an old Winchester Charter, seemingly drawn up about 1050, and transcribed about 1160 (Kemble, IV. p. 260). The *ge* is allowed to remain, and the *sc* is not yet changed into *sh*; but the old *æ* is usually replaced by *e*, and *ch* appears. The writer is not certain whether to put *eu* or *eow*, for he sets down *þeuwdom*. He rejoices in the letter *u*, writing *biscup*, *wurscupe*, and *munkes*; he employs this *u* for the old *eo*, as *bûn* for *beon*, *prust* for *preost*. This explains why the old *heo* (illa) is pronounced in Lancashire as *hu*, or as we now write it, *hoo*; strange it is that so old-fashioned and common a word should linger in a Northern shire, and not in the South. The interchange between *u* and *eo* is very old; for the Sanscrit *bhu* is the English *beo*. We find in the Charter the new *ðerfore*. The technical Latin *magister* (of a school) is now replaced by the French *meistre*.

England had not yet lost her love of reading her own history written in her own tongue. A Kentish copy of the Chronicle seems to belong to this time, for we find such a form as *graschynnene* (with the *sh* sound) in the account of the year 1075.[1] In the beginning of the relation of the year 1050, the old *byrig* is written *beri*, and *gief* stands for *geaf*; these are true Kentish marks. Further on, *amyrrende* is written for *amyrrenne* (vastare); this shows how easily such a form as *crienne merci* (petere misericordiam) might become *criende merci*, in the phrase, 'crying mercy availed little.'[2]

About this time, rather before the murder of St.

[1] This copy is known as 'Cotton, Domitian, A. VIII. 2.'

[2] Wickliffe has *was to doynge* (facturus), in St. Luke xxii. 23.

Thomas, we light upon a tale, which shows how fast English and French were blending together. The great-grandsons of those that met in deadly grapple at Hastings had become so united by intermarriage, that it was hard to tell, so a lawyer of the day says, whether a freeman was English or Norman by birth.[1] Hugh de Morville, a man of renown in his time, one of the future Canterbury murderers, could well understand his wife's English, when she wished to give him a sudden alarm; 'Huge de Morevile, ware, ware, ware, Lithulf heth his sword adrage!' Here the adjective *wær* (cautus) is treated as if it were a verb, the rightful *beo* (esto) being omitted before it; this is the first instance of our shortened phrase, when speaking to a dog, 'war rabbit,' &c. The *heth* (habet) is a clipped *hafaþ*. The *adrage* is the Past Participle, clipped in the true Southern way, for it is a Canterbury monk that tells the tale. I wish we had more specimens of the off-hand colloquial English.[2]

There is an English Charter of Henry the Second's that belongs to this time (Hickes, 'Thesaurus,' I. xvi.); here the Old English *eow* (you) is written ȝeau; the *au*, sounded like the French *ou*, was a sound common to London and Paris alike. Indeed, so late as 1417, Lisieux was written *Leseaux* ('Paston Letters,' Gairdner, I. 7).

About this time, the Old Southern English Gospels

[1] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, Stubbs's Documents, 193.

[2] *Materials for Becket's Life* (Master of the Rolls), 128. See Kemble's *Charters*, II. 96, for a good specimen of the Kentish of this time, or a little later.

of King Æthelred's time were fitted for modern use. These, known in their new form as the Hatton Gospels, are now accessible to all; St. Matthew's Gospel was published in 1858.[1] The main corruption is the change of *c* into *ch*, as *mycel* into *mychel*, and *ælc* into *elch*. The endings are clipped as usual; thus *sunu* becomes *sune*. The old *wylcum* is turned into *welcum* (welcome), page 48. In page 142, something like our *wherewith* is seen for the first time; about the year 1000, it had been said that 'a man has nothing *hwanon* (unde) he can pay;' this *hwanon* in the present version is turned into *hwærmid*; many changes of this nature were to follow.

After this time, about 1160, there were to be no more English versions of the Bible, and no more English Charters, granted by the Crown. This scorn for our tongue, conceived in high places, was to last for about two hundred years, and was to do great harm.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(1180.)

The first specimen of this is the Anthem said to have been dictated by St. Thomas, soon after his martyrdom, to a Norfolk priest. We have this as it was set down by William of Canterbury.[2] The first four lines are—

Hali Thomas of hevenriche,
Alle postles eve(n)liche.
Ðe martyrs ðe understande
Deyhuamliche on here hande.

---

[1] *Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions of St. Matthew's Gospel*, by Hardwick.

[2] *Materials for Becket's History* (Master of the Rolls), I. 151.

Here the East Midland *hali* and *understande* (suscipiunt) have not been changed into the Kentish *hòli* and *understandeð*. The clipping of the *a* in *apostles* in the second line is a sure token of the Danelagh, and comes often in Orrmin. In the fifth line stands *Drichtin* (Dominus), not *Drihten*; the change of *h* into *ch* was to become common. In the tenth line, the Anglian *sinne* has been altered into the Kentish *senne*, even though it mars the rime.

We must now for the third time cast an eye upon the Homilies, which throw such a flood of light upon Twelfth Century English.[1] Those to which I now refer date from about 1180, and seem to have been written in Essex, according to evidence brought forward by Dr. Morris; for some of their forms are akin to the Danelagh, others to the South. They have peculiarities, found also in Kent; such as the change of *i* into *e*, *manken* for *mankin*, *sennen* for *sinnen*; also, the combination *ie* to express the sound of the French *é*, as in *lief*, *bitwien*, *gier*, *þief*, *fiend*, *friend*; *lie* (page 229) for the older *leoȝen*; *glie* for *gleo*; *fieble* (page 191) for what we call *feeble*. This combination is found in King Alfred's translation of Pope Gregory's Pastoral Care, and after 1120 was preserved nowhere else but in Kent and in the shire where the present Homilies were written. It is pretty clear that they must have been compiled not far from Colchester; the forms peculiar to the North of the Great Sundering Line here mingle with those that

[1] *Old English Homilies*, Second Series (Early English Text Society), published by Dr. Morris. These did not come out before the end of May, 1873.

come from the South. We have *ben*, *beð*, *buð*, all three, for *sunt*: both *aiper* and *eiper*, *bad* and *bed*, *giltes* and *gultes*, *fire* and *fur*, *clepe* and *clupe*. The old *tilian* had the two meanings of *colere* and *laborare*; the older form of the verb we keep for the former meaning, while the *tulien* of these Homilies, now written *toil*, expresses the latter meaning. The Plural of the Present ends in both *eð* and *en*. Some have affirmed that the London dialect was East Midland and not Southern. I would ask such critics to remark the strong Southern dash in these Homilies, written at some place to the North of London; such words are here found as *heo*, *ich*, *þo*, *kingene* (regum), *queðinde*, *ac*, *honden*, *urnen* (currere).

It is curious to compare the Moral Ode, as transcribed into this Essex dialect, with that version of it noticed at page 181 of this book. The following are some of the changes:—

Southern.	*Essex.*	*Southern.*	*Essex.*
an (unus)	on	ȝleo	ȝlie
draȝen	drawen	leioȝen (mentiri)	lie
ech	afri	I scal	I sal
aȝen (proprius)	owen	bicauhte	bikeihte
chep (sale)	ware	eorles	ȝierles
knauð	cnoweð	englene (angelorum)	angles
blaweð	bloweð	cunnes	kennes
fond	fiendes	ȝeoȝeð	ȝieuð
laðe	loðe		

There are three decided tokens of Northern influence in these Homilies: the *aren* (sunt), the *heðen* (hinc), and the clipping of the prefix *ge* in Past Participles.

The *æ* often becomes *a*, as *sat*, *brac*, *bigat*; the *a* is

constantly changed into *o*, as *fo*, *wroð*, *old*, *drof*, *mow*, *sori*, *cnow*, *two*, *soule*, *Poul*; the *e* replaces *ea*, as *cheke*, *eke*, *fewe*, *leve*; the *i* replaces *eo*, as *þih*, *liht*; in *alumð* (p. 141) *u* replaces *eo*. The combination *ai*, hitherto not much known in England, comes pretty often; we see *maiden*, *nail*, *slaine*; here the *i* stands for an older *g*. The new French *ou* is in great request, for we find *flouweð*, *blouwen*, and such like; there are *fower*, *fuwer*, and *foure*, all three forms; we see both the old *nu* and the new *nou*. The Peterborough *wua* (qui) may be found; and *potest* is Englished by both *mai* and *muge*. What was *bihofðe* in the Southern Homilies is here *bihoupe* (behoof); *wumme* is found once more, and *wuo* stands for *wa* (p. 149); there is both *woreld* and *wurld*. The old Perfect *com* (veni) now becomes *cam* (came), p. 145. Some words were pronounced just as we sound them now, as *teme*, *neme*, *ivel*, *bitwine*; these we must here pronounce as the French would.

As to Consonants: the *ge* is clipped at the beginning of Past Participles, and also the *n*, their last letter; the *n* of the Infinitive sometimes disappears. The *g* is cast out in the middle of a word, for the old *syngode* (peccavit) is sometimes *sined*; the older form lasted in Salop down to 1400. *Gedriged* and *hergode* are now *dride* and *herede* (harried); the Perfect of *tigian* is *teid* (p. 217), *leger* becomes *leire*, our *lair*. There is here also a combination of consonants much used in the Eastern half of England, that of *gh* replacing the old *h*; we now find *þoghte* and *aghte* (debuit); this was as yet strange to the shires South of Thames. Another mark of the North and of the Eastern coast, the use of *sal* in-

stead of *shall*, is also found. The hard *g* sound was henceforth little used, except in East Anglia and Northern Essex; we here find *folegen*, *burg*, *gure* (vester), *beger* (emptor), *gier* (annus); also the corrupt *gede* (ivit). The *w*, which replaced *g* in so many words, is creeping up from the South; we see *owen*, *bruw*, *buw*, for *agen*, *breg*, and *boga*. Such forms occur as *gres* (gramen), *breðren*, *reu* (pœnitet). In this last word we now transpose the vowels. We here see the old *genemned*, *pyndan*, turned into *nemmed*, *pen*.

The *g* sometimes becomes ȝ as well as *w*; in page 205 we hear that Christ's body was *atoȝen* (distractum); from the old *teogan* (a three-pronged fork, as it were), we get three different corruptions, to *tug*, to *toy*, and to *tow*. The *h* is sometimes turned into *g*, as *fleg* (fugit), for the old *fleah*; the *h* at the beginning of a word vanishes, as *wit* (albus) for *hwit*; *shewe em* is in page 57. The *ch* often replaces *c*, as in *chireche* (cyrce), *much*, *stenche*, *riche*. The fact that this new French sound often replaced the Old English hard *c* has enriched our tongue with two sets of words, springing from the same root; thus we have the two distinct verbs, *wake* and *watch*, both from the old *wæc-an*. But in 1180 their use was most unsettled; at page 161 we hear that the Devil *wecche*ð (awaketh) evil. It is the same with *dike*, *ditch*, *shriek*, *screech*, *drink*, *drench*, *kirk*, *church*, *egg*, *edge*, owing to this intrusive *ch*; we even apply this system to French words, as *tack*, *attach*, *trickery*, *treachery*.

The new sound, *sh* instead of *sc*, seldom found hitherto, is established in the South-Eastern shires; as

shown in *bisshup*, *shipe*, *shufe* (shove), *shrifte*, *fishes*. The ð is sometimes changed into *d*, as *birden* (onus) for *byrðen*; this process went on in East Anglia. At page 111 the *w* is cast out; for we see *uppard* instead of the rightful *upweard*; we now often hear *forrad* shouted instead of *forward*. The *n* in the middle of the word is cast out; *punresdæg* becomes *puresdai* at page 61. The *n* of *on* (unus) is clipped, for we see, at page 165, *fram ô stede to oðer*; this *o* for *on* becomes common all through the South, and we have had a most narrow escape from corrupting all our Strong Past Participles in this way, as 'I have *do*' instead of *done*. The Preposition *on* is clipped in page 109, for we see *anes a dai*, 'once a day;' *a Godes name*. The *od* or *ed* of the Weak Verb's Past Participle is also clipped, as in *lend* and *fild*. An *l* is tacked on to an old Verb, for *cneowian* is now replaced by *cnewl* (kneel).

As to Substantives: the old *geoc* was Plural as well as Singular, and it remains so in our Bible; but at page 195 we find the corruption *giokes*. How utterly the Dative has vanished may be seen in page 113, where *hæge dages*, without any Preposition, stands for *in festis diebus*. In page 187 we see a new construction, a kind of Accusative Absolute; *he is forloren, lif and sowle*. In page 173 we read, 'they shall fear, *and no wunder nis*;' we should now drop the last word.

At page 179 the old *gemæne* (communis) is cut down to *mene*, our *mean*. There is a wonderful shortening in *mest manne* (p. 169), which Englishes *maxima pars hominum*; *most* is here applied to number and not to magnitude, though we may still say 'the most part.' In

page 165 comes *fram ivele to werse*, where the Adjectives stand without any Substantives.

As to Verbs: the oldest English allowed of such phrases as *I do eow to witanne*; this sense of *do* is extended to *make* at page 213; speaking of buyers and sellers, *he him makeð to ben bihinden*; the last word shows how our *behind hand* in money matters arose. As the last sentence shows, the Gerundial Infinitive with *to* was coming in; we see *leren þe folc to understanden* (p. 93); *he þencheð to forleten* (p. 201); *hine laðeð to drinken* (p. 213); *bicumeliche to wunien* (p. 171); *help to feed, loth to do.* We have seen that the Passive Participle might follow *have*, as 'he had it wrought;' we now see this usage extended to the Active Participle at page 145; *he hadde wuniende on him þe holigost.* We find the Infinitive dropped altogether, at page 193, to save a repetition; *no man us ne wereð, ... ne Gode nele, ich adrade* (I fear); the two last words are a foretaste of one of our commonest English idioms. The new Pluperfect Subjunctive, the work of the Southern shires, has not yet reached Essex, as we see in the third line of page 133. On the other hand, there is an advance upon the former Southern idiom, *eie stondeð men*; this becomes, at page 39, *he þat non eige ne stand of*, not far from our *he that stands in no awe of* &c. In page 187 we find another terse English sentence, *fihteð ealde neddre*; earlier writers would have set some Preposition answering to *contra* after the first word. The verb *healdan* was being freely used; *ich held mid hem* (p. 211), *holden hire muð* (p. 181), *holden weie* (p. 161). Verbs were now being run into each other; *sencan* was formerly the

Transitive *mergere, sincan* the Neuter *mergi*; the two forms now get confounded, for in page 177 comes *þe storm bisinkeð þe ship*. So in page 109 the old *þencað* (videtur) becomes *þinkeð*, whence our *me thinks*.

As to Numerals: in page 224 we find *on oðer two tiden*, "one or two;" a new phrase. At page 175 we hear of two brethren, '*þat on* is Seint Peter and *þat oðer* Seint Andreu:' this is a great change from the *se an* . . . *se oðer* used of the two men who strove for the Papacy in 1129, as recorded in the Peterborough Chronicle of that year. In Scotch law papers *the tan* and *the tother* may be remarked down to very modern times;[1] the confusion between letters is like that seen in *the nonce*. The Masculine and Neuter of the Article were no longer to be distinguished; at least, in Danish shires. The *o*, which has so often replaced the old *a*, has added to our stock of synonyms for *unus*; we now employ *one* and *an* in distinct ways, but this had not been settled in 1180: at page 125 we read of '*on* old man,' and two lines lower down of '*an* holie child.' Many years later, the form *such a one* was to be written.

In page 213 there is a most curious new idiom; the old *man* and the later *an* (see page 54 of my book) seem to be used together; *þe stede þer me swo one drinkeð*, 'the place where one drinks so;' the *one* here stands for *aliquis* for the first time, not for *quidam* or *unus*, as in fore-Conquest days. The French *on* may perhaps have

[1] So in the poem on the Chameleon:—

'Sirs,' cried the umpire, 'cease your pother;
The creature's neither one nor tother.'

had some influence here. In page 203 is a strong proof how idiomatic the old Indefinite *man* or *me* was in England; *swich blisse me bihat us alle*, 'such bliss is promised us all (by God).'

On looking at the Pronouns, we find that *self* has been turned into a Plural; at p. 193 is *us selven* (ourselves). There is the old Genitive *ure ech*, which lasted for ages longer; there is also the new form *ech of us, on of hem.* At page 191 *swa hwæt swa* is pared down to *what*; *attreð hwat heo prikeð*; it may be that the *quodcunque*, which always translated the Old English *swa hwæt swa*, led our fathers to look upon *hwat* as a good translation for the kindred *quod.* We see a new word, *warbi* (whereby), page 81; something like *wherewith* had already been coined in the South.

The compounds with the Adverb *where* lead us on to those with *here*; *herœfter* alone had been used before this time; we find *herin* (herein) at page 113. So *þonon-weard* had hitherto been the only compound with *þonon*: at page 189 we see *þanen-forðward* (thence forward). We know our phrase 'to cry off;' at page 213 we see *þe soule . . . wilneþ ut* (desires out), that is, desires *to be* out. At page 181, we read that the soul *tuneð to* (shutteth to) *hire gaten. For þam œnes*, or *for þan œnes*, becomes in page 87 *for the nones*, 'for that alone, for the purpose;' a curious instance of the confusion of letters, where two words run into each other. We also see at work the Middle English tendency to ad *es* to words. The adverb *wel* (bene) stands for *riht* (valdè) in page 71; *he is wel god*; we still say, *well worthy.* The old *well-nigh* had been in very

early use; at page 177 comes, they *goð wel on hond.*

Among Prepositions, *of* is encroaching more and more upon older forms; *he was of michel elde* (p. 125); here the earlier English would have used the Genitive; so *lete of þoleburdnesse* (pretence of patience, p. 79); *ortrowe of mihte* (distrust of power, p. 73); *redde* (rid) *of deaþ* (p. 171); *emti of bileve* (p. 191); *ofshamede of hem* (p. 173); *forbisne of him selven* (an example of himself, p. 149). From this last comes our 'make an example of, make an exhibition of,' &c. The sense of our *off* comes more to the front; at page 39 we hear of *a man þe was of his wit*; hence our 'off his feed;' *swikeð of giure sinnes* (p. 203), we should now say *leave off your sins.* At page 125 there is a new sense of *on*; *on his spuse he child strende* (begat). The preposition *to* is making further way; in page 141 we read *leððe to sunne, . . . luve to him*; at page 157, *fremfulle to sinbote*; at page 73, *bilimpeð to godcunnesse*; the old Dative is here encroached upon. The Anglian *til*, which did not travel far to the South of the Great Sundering Line until two hundred years after this, is now used with a Substantive of time; *til amoregen* is in page 75. A wholly new Preposition, formed from the Noun *side*, crops up at page 31, supplanting the old *wið*; *biside þe burch.*[1] The old *ut of* now sometimes becomes *ut fram*, as at page 33. We see a wholly new phrase for the Latin *quasi* at page 117; *ase þeh it were*; here *swa* would

[1] This shows us how *before, behind, beyond, between*, were formed in very early days.

have been used earlier. In page 107, *quodcunque sit* is Englished by *be swo it beo*; the Relative force of the old *swa* (as) is here seen; we often use 'be that as it may.'

Many English words were now getting new meanings. Before this, *ealdafæder* had been used for *avus*; it now stands for *socer*, for the kindred English word of this latter, *sweor*, was unluckily dropped, at least in the East. At page 157 we see that the old *syllan* is henceforward to keep its sense of *vendere* and to lose that of *tradere*. Among the works of darkness mentioned at page 13 are 'chest and *chew*,' translated by Dr. Morris 'contention and *jaw*,' one sense of the old *ceówan*, our *chew*. Sir Charles Napier, when finding comfort, as he said, in 'jawing away' at the powers that were, little suspected the good authority he had for his verb. There is a famous Mediæval phrase in page 113; Christ, it is there said, '*herede* helle;' The Harrowing of Hell plays a leading part in our old literature from first to last. We know our phrase, 'to take to his bed;' we read in page 20, '*þu takest to huse*,' that is, 'thou keepest at home.' At page 201 we see a broad line drawn between *napping* and *sleeping*. This distinction had been unknown in Old English. At page 151, *wlache*, the old *wlæc*, is the adjective applied to snow melted by the sun; this may have been confused with *hleow*, and is seen in our *lúke-warm*.

We find new forms like 'to *croke*' or 'make crooked,' page 61; *swoldren*, our *swelter*, page 7; *snevi* and *snuve* (sniff and snuff), pages 37 and 191. *Trustliche* (trustfully) appears, akin to the Frisian *trâst*.

There are many Scandinavian words, which we have followed, rather than the kindred Old English forms.

Dufe, *dove*[1]	from	dufa
Sleht, *skill*	„	slægð
Holsum, *wholesome*	„	heilsamr
Mece, *meek*	„	miúkr
Rote, *root*	„	róte
Shurte, *shirt*	„	skyrta
Shrike, *shriek*	„	skrika
Smoc, *smock*	„	smokkr

There are here also a few words common to England and Holland, such as *twist*, *wimple*, and *shiver* (findere). To *scorn* is here seen for the first time; some have derived it from the French *escornir*, to deprive of horns. But it is used a few years later by Orrmin, the last of all men to use a French word; *scœrn* (stercus) is the more likely parent of the term.

Giraldus Cambrensis was flourishing at this time, but English philology had still much to learn. In page 45, the derivation of *king* is given; 'he *kenneð* (directs) evre to rihte.' This is something like Mr. Carlyle's well-known mistake, about *cyning* being the man that *can* act. In page 99 the word *husel* (the Eucharist) has to be accounted for; we are told that no man can say '*hu sel* (how blessed) it is.' At page 25, we get another bit of Old English philology; God is called Father, we are there told, for two reasons; 'on

[1] The Old English *culver* was long used all through the South of England, while the Danish *dove* was used in the North.

his for þo þe he . . . *feide* (joined) þe lemes to ure licame . . . oðer is þat he *fet* (feeds) alle þing.'

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1180.

ESSEX HOMILIES. Page 105.

Seint Jacob þe holie apostel, þe ure drihten sette to
Lord
lorþeawe þe folc of Jerusalem, he nam geme of þe wune
teacher *took* *heed* *customs*
þe weren þo, and get bien mid mannen, fewe gode and
then *yet* *are* *among*
fele ivele, and bigan to turnen þe ivele to gode mid his
many
wise wordes þe he wið hem spec muð wið muðe þe hwile
he wunede lichamliche among hem. And agen þe time
dwelt *bodily*
þe ure drihten wolde him fechen fro þis wreche woreld
to his blisfulle riche, þo sette he on write þe wise word
kingdom
þe he spec, and þat writ sende into chirchen; and hit is
cumen into þis holi minstre to dai, and biforen giu rad,
you
þeh ge it ne understonden; ac we wilen bi Godes
though *but*
wissinge and bi his helpe þerof cuþen giu þese lit
guidance *declare*
word.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1180.)

Ða ȝet seiþ þeo soule soriliche to hire l(icham); æfre þu were luþer þeo ḥwile þu lif hæfdest, þu were leas and luti and unriht lufede(st and) luþere deden; deredest Cristene men and mid worde and mid werke so þu wurst mihte. (Ic wæs) from God clene to þe isend, ac þu havest unc fordon mid þine luþere deden; þu were gredi and mid gromen þe onfulled; unneaþe ic on þe eni wunung ha(fdc)for hearde niþe and ofer mete fulle, for þin wombe was þin God and þin wulder þin iscend.

Forloren þu havest þeo ece blisse,
Binumen þu havest þa Paradis,
B(inu)men þe is þæt holi lond,
Ðen deofle þu bist isold on hond,
For noldest þu nefre (hab)ben inouh,
Buten þu hefdest unifouh.
Nu is þæt swete al agon,
Ðæt bittere þe bi(ð) fornon;
Ðæt bittere ilest þe efre,
Ðet gode ne cumeð þe nefre.

The above is taken from a Southern work, the Poem on the Soul and Body, printed from a Worcester manuscript by the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, to whom English Philology owes much. We have here a foretaste of Layamon's well-known work; there are some things common to the present piece and to the Essex Homilies; as *soule* for *saule*, *four*, *hwoso*, *chirche*, *drawen*, *owen*, where *w* supplants *g*; *qu* is well established instead of *cw*, and *besides* is used as a Preposition. But the *sh* has

not encroached upon the *sc*; the old *scal* and *scrin* have not yet become *shall* and *shrine* in the Severn country.

In Vowels: *au* is making way; *strau* and *clau* appear; *ei* is a favourite combination, for *eihte*, *clei*, *neih*, and *eiȝe* come; we still pronounce the two first in the proper way, with the sound of the French *ê*; the two last have been degraded. The diphthong *æ* sometimes vanishes; Bæda becomes Beda, as happened before the Conquest; we see the Old and the New in the short sentence, *Ælfric abbot þe we Alquin hotep*. It is hopeless, after seven hundred years of wrong spelling, to talk now of King *Ælfred*. The *o* often replaces *a*; at p. 7, *a* (semper), the *aye* of the North, is written *o*; rather later, in page 301 of this book, we shall find the phrase *ey and o*, an admission of the claims of both North *and* South. The old *gât* (hædus) is written *got*; but on the Tyne, far to the North, Gateshead (Caput Capræ) has held its ground. *Dâ* (dama) and *gâd* (stimulus) become *do* and *gode*; *râ-deor* (capreolus) is changed into *roa-deor*, and shows us the steps by which the old *a* became the new *o*; we still write *broad*, *goad*, and *hoard*, a compromise between the North and the South.[1] The sound of *o* can in our tongue be expressed by about ten different letters or combinations of letters; the student of our language must here long for the simplicity of the Italian. The *oh* becomes *ouh*, as in the Moral Ode (see page 181); we see *souhte* and *inouh*. The *u* is most popular, a sure mark of the South; this vowel replaces *i*,

[1] The old *brâd*, though now written *broad*, is pronounced something in the old way, very unlike the sound of *oa* in other words, such as *toad* and *road*.

for *scîr* (shire) becomes *scur*; it also replaces *o*, for *horn* becomes *hurn*. *Bytt* (uter) is now *butte*, our *butt*.

Sometimes a Consonant is dropped in the middle of a word, for we see *elleoven* (eleven) for *endleofan*. The city *Cantwaraburh* is now changed into *Cantoreburi*; and thus the French way of spelling (did they ever yet spell a Teutonic word right?) influenced us. The Infinitive *dreôgan* (subire) becomes *driœn*, the Scotch *dree*; *manslaga* is now *monsleia*. The *g* drops at the end of a word, for *heg* becomes *hei*; we still keep the pronunciation of this word *hay*. Sometimes letters are transposed; *crœt* (currus) becomes *kert*. Another budding change may be seen in *spindel*, which is here replaced by *spindle*. The Southern *c* and the Northern *k* are coupled together, as in *crocke* and *þicke*. King Alfred had long before used the form *orcgeard* instead of the commoner *ortgeard*; the word is now softened into *orchard*. In this way the Old English *splot* with us becomes *splotch*.

Another word, where *c* has become *ch*, is *cicen*, *chiken*; in this word both the old and the new sound of *c* are found. The old *cealc* now becomes *chalc*, our *chalk*. *Dagas* is now *dazes*; but *w* is the favourite letter in replacing the old *g*; we see *elbowe*, *fuweles* (fowls), and *suwa* (sow). What was *lah* (humilis) in 1120 is now *lowe*; *þu drôge* (traxisti) is *drowe* at page 8. An attempt is even made to change *days* into *dawes*, a corruption that lasted long in the South. The word *sorhfull* is turned into *seoruhful*. The Strong Verb changed into the Weak is seen in *sleptest*, as in the Rushworth Gospels; the Weak Verb turned into the Strong (a most

unusual thing in English) is found in *rungen* for the rightful *ringoden*. There is *scorede* (secavit) for *scær*; we have now the two forms *score* and *shear*, both coming from the old *scêran*. We see the Latin word *antenna* Englished by *seilȝerd*, the first time that *yard* is found applied to ship-gear. *Sartrix* is here Englished simply by *heo* (illa), referring to *seamære* (sartor), which had gone before; our *seamstress* still keeps some trace of the old *seamestre*, the right word to use.[1] *Lihte* stands for *pulmo*, our 'liver and lights.' *Wealcan* stands once more for *ambulare*, as it did in the Southern Homilies: and the new word *deavep* (become deaf) appears at page 5; this is Intransitive, but the Scotch *deave* has become Transitive.

We have other sources open to us, besides the English manuscripts. In the poems of Nigel Wireker, written about 1190, we come upon the names *Willekin* and *Robekin*. These are the names of boys, and are most likely due to Flemish immigrants into England. It is curious that the new Teutonic ending *kin* should be first attached to common French names like *William* and *Robert*; it was long before *Robekin* became *Rob* or *Bob*.[2] About the same time, the Coggeshall Chronicle talks of *Malekin*, a pet name derived from *Mald*, or *Matilda*.

[1] We find here *pistor* Englished by *bakestre*, whence comes *Baxter*. *Ster* was the ending *usually* reserved for the feminine, as *spinster*; but Pharaoh's baker was called in Genesis *bæcistre*, before the Conquest. See Earle's *Philology*, p. 320.

[2] Wireker's poems were attributed, when published, to Brunellus Vigelli. I consulted the edition published at Wolfenbüttel in 1662. The names in *kin* are found in p. 94 of this work.

Later in the Thirteenth Century we hear of *Jankin*, and other such; of these names, *Perkin* is the most renowned. Ælfric, in his Grammar, written about two hundred years before this time, had told his pupils that some nouns were *diminutiva*, giving for an example *homunculus, lytle mann.* He knew not the word *mannikin.*

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(A.D. 1200.)

I now return once more to the neighbourhood of Colchester. We have a collection of King Alfred's saws, dating from about the year 1200.[1] It seems, like the Essex Homilies, to belong to the Great Sundering Line; we find the thorough East Anglian forms *gu, gung, sal, wu, arren, dagis* (you, young, shall, how, are, days); also *bes þu* (page 32), where the rightful *t* is lost at the end of the *bes.* On the other hand, the Active Participle ends in both the Midland *end* and Southern *ind*, and the *i* or *y* is prefixed to the Past Participle; the Southern *o* is preferred to the Northern *a*, as in *no þing, swo, lond*; such forms as *cunne, Englene* (Anglorum), are truly Southern.

As to Vowels; *mæg* becomes *may, moge*, and *muge*; the different sounds that might be given to one word are most curious, and show how unsettled a thing Middle English was. The *o* replaces *i*, for we find *wole* for *will*;

[1] Dr. Morris prints this, along with a Southern version made sixty years later, in his *Old English Miscellany* (Early English Text Society), p. 103.

of this we keep a trace in our *wòn't* (will not). The old Superlative *lengest* remains, but *lengra* becomes *longer* at page 113. The English *ow* sometimes slides into the foreign *ou*, as in *mouiñ*, *cnouin*. The *heo* (illa) becomes *hue* at page 119, and this change spread all over the South. The old *dohter* and *noht* become *douter* and *nout*. The *u* seems to take an *e* before it in page 121, where the old *beogan* or *bugan* turns into *bewen*; much about the same time, Layamon on the Severn was writing *beouweden*. The sound of the French *ou* is now expressed by a combination of letters new to English scribes; in p. 132 the old *treowð* is written *troyθe*, sounded much as we sound *truth*. The Essex *tulien* was later to be written *toil*. This French *oi* will be discussed in a later Chapter.[1] We saw that King Alfred was fond of doubling the letter *o*; this now crops up again; the old *bôc* is here written *booc*. Moreover, *wùdu* (silva) is turned into *wood*, but this must in Essex have been pronounced like *wode*. The words *wulf*, *wulle*, *wund*, *bûr* (gebûr, colonus), have always been pronounced in one and the same way from first to last, though we have altered their spelling.

In Consonants there is a great change at work. The *h* is sometimes wrongly used, as *herl* for *erl*, *wad* for *what*; it vanishes in the middle of *biovit* (oportet). The fondness for the hard *g* is one of the peculiarities of East Anglia; the old *gesâwon* and *rôwan* are turned into *sagin*

[1] In the old Latin Inscriptions we find *oinus* written where later authors would have put *unus*. A famous Oxford scholar, examining a school in Perthshire about 1820, asked a boy to spell *poison*. There was no answer. 'Hoot, mon,' cried the schoolmaster, 'can ye no spell *pooshun*?' The boy at once spelt the word right.

and *rogen*.[1] But *mæg* and *saga* (dic) become *may* and *say*, as we have since kept them; and *saga hit* in page 117 is cut down to *seit*, a proof how little the *h* in *hit* was now sounded. The *h* was replaced sometimes, as at Peterborough, by *gh*, as *degh*; sometimes by *c*, as *rict*; sometimes by *ch*, as *þochte*, *þu micht*, *buch*; sometimes by *g*, as *migte*, *rigtin*. We find the two forms *mukil* and *moch*. This poem differs from the Essex Homilies in the resistance offered to the newfangled *sh*, which was replacing *sc*; we find indeed *schene* and *schete*, but *sal* is preferred to *shal*, and we shall find the same resistance to *sh* in the East Anglian works of 1230. The *þ* is sometimes corrupted into *d*, as *widuten*, *quad* (*cwæþ*). Sir Thomas More, three hundred years later, imitated this, writing *quod he* (dixit), which at that time was laughed at as old-fashioned by his enemies. The *þ* is added to a word, for *wela* becomes *welþe*; the confusion of this letter with *f* is seen at page 111, where *hinseolfe* (himself) is written *hineselþe*. The old *æceras* is now *acreis* (acres), and *ceorl* takes the broader form of *cherril* (churl).

In Substantives: we find that the Genitival *es*, known in the North, but hitherto unknown to certain words in the South, is now added; *faderis blisse* is in page 129, but the later version keeps the true old English *fader blisse*. We find the corrupt *alle cunne madines* in page 127 (all kind of treasure); the later version sticks to the rightful Genitive, *uyches cunnes madmes* (all kind's treasures), 'treasures of all (every) kind,' showing how

[1] This seems to show that in the Eastern counties the *a* of *gesâwon* and the *o* of *rôwan* were not pronounced like the French *ou*.

the idiom arose. The word *thing* was about this time employed as a compliment; Alfred is called in page 103 a *lufsum þing*; a few years later it is applied even to Christ. We see a familiar phrase of ours for the first time at page 133; *elde cumid to tune*, 'age comes to town,' that is, 'draws near us.'

We find the old *hlanc* rather changed at page 138, where it is written *lonke* (lanky). There must have been some great difference in sound between *h* on the one hand, and *c* and *g* on the other, when they were prefixed to *l*, *n*, and *r*; in such cases *h* is always lost, while *c* and *g* remain to this day.

There is a further step made as to Relative Pronouns: at page 117 we see *may he forfarin, hwo haveþ* &c. Here the *hwo* stands after the antecedent *he* for the first time; the idea of *hwo so* must have been in the writer's mind. In p. 137 *heure* (vester) stands for *tuus*, the first instance of this French idiom in England; it comes amidst a crowd of French words. I have set out the passage at page 209 of this work.

There is a great change in one of the Irregular Verbs; the old *ic mæg* (possum) took *þu miht* for its second person; this is now corrupted into *þu maist* at p. 117, though the rightful *þu micht* comes elsewhere. We saw in the Lindisfarne Gospels this paring down of the Strong Verb to the level of its Weak brother; even in the South, *þu cunne, þu durre*, had become in some parts *þu canst, þu dearst*, long before the Norman Conquest. A new idiom starts up at p. 103; *begin* is cut down to *gin*, as *hem he gon lerin*; and this *gon* or *gan* was used for ages as a kind of Auxiliary Verb, side by side with *can*; Scott

has in his 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' *the earl gan spy*. At p. 136 we see the Pronoun set before the Imperative, *þu gef him*; this has not yet gone out, for we still say 'you go there.' The verb *like* was of old Impersonal, and we may still say 'an it like you.' But at p. 105 it Englishes *amant*; we see *lovin him and likin*; another instance of this comes rather later. The verb *do* gets a new meaning, *finire*; *mine dagis arren nei done* is in p. 135. *Drifan* is used intransitively, as we learn by the context, at p. 115; *to duste it sullin driven*. We have seen how *wrang* (malum) was first found at London; we now see a verb formed from it at p. 135, *þe wronke gume þu rigtin*, 'be sure to right the wronged man.' So *mus* (mouse) creates a new verb, applied to cats, at p. 121. Another verb crops up for the first time at p. 138, the small man *wole grennen, cocken*, and *chiden*; from this *cocken* must come our adjective *cocky*. The new verb *bet̄le* is seen in p. 129.

The old *noht* is turned into *nout* and *nat*; it had already, at Peterborough, begun to drive out *ne*, and we here find *leve þu nout* instead of the rightful *ne leve þu*; but the old *ne* was used in prose so late as Campian's time. The Old English *þe hwîle þe* here takes the form of *hwilis þat*, which is kept in our Bible; the *is* or *es* is tacked on to Adverbs in the usual Middle English way. We have already seen *wel* used for *swiþe* (valdè); at p. 103 the two are coupled together, *wel swiþe strong*. An idiom most common in our Ballads is here first found; *son so dere* (p. 135); here the *so* is not wanted. A new idiom was now coming down from the North; at p. 133 we read *wer* (ubi) *hachte is hid, þer is armþe*; this *wer*

was before this time in the South written *þær*. The new Relative forms were crowding in.

As to Prepositions: *of* as usual was employed with new meanings; it replaced the old *on* in phrases like *desi of mod, sot of word.* The confusion between *on* and *of* lasts still, when we hear people talk of '*the whole lot on 'em*;' *upbraiþ of* comes at p. 119; we should now turn the *of* into *with*, though we still *accuse of.* The *to* was often used after *weorðan* (fieri); this usage is now extended, for we see *melten to nocht, bringen to nout. At* always had in English a sense nearly akin to *in*; we now find (p. 125) *god ate nede*, a phrase that Scott loved. *Bi* is turned into an adverb at p. 137, *he wole be bi.*

The foreign word *clerk* is now used for *scholar* as well as for *priest*; for it is here said of Alfred that 'he was king and cleric,' p. 103. This old poem is most Teutonic; but at the end of the two last stanzas, the bard, perhaps wishing to show off his learning, brings in a few French words most needlessly:—

> Ac nim þe to þe a stable mon
> þat word and dede bisette con,
> and multeplien heure god,
> a sug fere þe his help in mod.
>
> . . . .
>
> Hic ne sige nout bi þan,
> þat moni ne ben gentile man;
> þuru þis lore and genteleri
> he amendit huge companie.[1]

This is the first instance of our word *gentleman.* There are also *letteris* and *gile.* We find for the first time *dote*

[1] The *h* is sadly misused in this piece, as we see.

(dolt), akin to a Dutch term; besides a few Scandinavian words. *Huge*, from the Norse *ugga*, to frighten. *Scold*, from the Swedish *skalla*. We have also added to our well-known word *ban* the Danish sense *maledicere*, as seen in this poem; the old *geban* meant *edictum*.

I may here remark, that in these Proverbs of Alfred we see a great change clearly foreshadowed, that was soon to mar the beauty of our English speech. There is an evident distaste for compounding Verbs with Prepositions; very few of such compounds are to be found here. Already in the Essex Homilies there had been a falling off from the old system; it is hard to see why this should have been the case; for the Scandinavian, as well as the Old English, delighted in prefixing Prepositions to Verbs. Thirty years after this time the same distaste will be remarked in other East Anglian works. The Eastern shires, lying between Colchester and Leicester, took the lead in robbing us of one of our choicest powers; if Stratmann's Dictionary be consulted, we shall find many verbs, with *of*, *to*, *æt*, *an*, prefixed; but these were used by writers, Northern and Southern alike, who dwelt far from Essex and East Anglia. In p. 115 our author uses *letin lif* (vitam perdere); the Southern transcriber alters the first word into *forleten*. It was unlucky that, of all England, the shires near London should have been the ones that started an evil habit, elsewhere unknown. One consequence of this clipping was, that English became more and more one-syllabled.

A Latin Charter of King John's to York, in 1200, may be here mentioned; we there see our word *wreck*

for the first time, the Scandinavian *rek*, 'something drifted on shore,' (Stubb's Documents illustrative of English History,' p. 304).

I now come to that writer who, clearlier than any other, foreshadows the growth of the New English. The monk Orrmin wrote a metrical Paraphrase of the Gospels, with comments of his own, somewhere about the year 1200; at least, he and Layamon employ the same proportion of Teutonic words that are now obsolete, and Layamon is known to have written after 1204. Orrmin, if he were the good fellow that I take him to have been (I judge from his writings), was a man well worthy to have lived in the days that gave us the Great Charter. He is the last of our English Makers who can be said to have drunk from the undefiled Teutonic well; no later writer ever used so many Prepositional compounds, and on this account we ought perhaps to fix upon an earlier year than 1200 for his date. In the course of his lengthy poem, he uses only four or five French words; his few Latin words are Church phrases known in our land long before the Norman Conquest.[1] On the other hand, he has scores of Scandinavian words, the result of the Danish settlement in our Eastern shires 300 years before his day. He seldom uses the prefix *be*, which is not Scandinavian. His book is the most thoroughly Danish poem ever written in England, that has come down to us; many of the words now in our mouths are found for the first time in his pages. Had

[1] When we find so thorough a Teuton using words like *ginn* and *scorn*, we should pause before we derive these from France.

some of our late Lexicographers pored over him more, they would have stumbled into fewer pitfalls.[1]

It is most important to fix the shire in which Orrmin wrote, since no man did more to simplify our English grammar, and to sweep away all nicety as to genders and cases. He evidently dwelt not far from the Great Line; he has Northern and Southern forms of the same word, like *bone* and *bene* (supplicatio), *tre* and *treow* (arbor), *ernep* and *runnep* (currit), *cnes* and *cnewwess* (genua). Had he lived to the East or South of Rutland, he would not have employed *their*, *them*, for *her*, *hem*, at so early a time. He cannot well be put far to the West of Ashby in Leicestershire, for so Scandinavian a writer can hardly have lived in any district that does not abound in hamlets with names ending in *by*. I should myself place him at the old Danish burgh of Derby, not far to the North of the Line. He uses *ȝho* (the old *heo*) for *illa*; and something like this is still heard in the mouths of old Derbyshire men. He must not be removed very far to the North of the Great Line, for he is most careful in writing the Infinitive in *enn*, which was clipped at Peterborough. Derby may be called the philological navel of England; from Derby a man may go East to Norwich, and not step out of the East Midland country; he may go North West to Lancaster, and not step out of the West Midland country.[2] Fifty miles to the North of Derby is Yorkshire, a stronghold of one dialect; fifty miles to

[1] Mr. White has given us a capital edition of Orrmin's poem, the *Ormulum*. Dr. Stratmann has made good use of it.

[2] There are no regular West Midland works before 1300, so I here take little notice of this district.

the South West of Derby is Worcestershire, a stronghold of another dialect.

There are many links between Orrmin and the Peterborough Chronicler who wrote forty years earlier. The word *gehaten* or *ȝehatenn* is almost the only Passive Participle which they leave unclipped of its prefix. They both use the two great Midland shibboleths, the Present Plural in *en* and the Active Participle in *ende*. They have the same objection to any ending but *es* for the Genitive Singular and the Nominative Plural of Nouns, following in this the old Northumbrián Gospels. They do not inflect the Article, and are thus far ahead of the Kentish writer of 1340. Orrmin uses *that* as a Demonstrative and not as a Neuter Article; he knows nothing of the Southern *thilk*, used in Somersetshire to this day. He has no trace of the Genitive Plural in *ene*, which lingered on in the South for 200 years after his time; he makes no distinction between Definite and Indefinite Adjectives, and their Plurals do not end in *es*.

We find in Orrmin what we have already seen in other Dano-Anglians, like the Essex writers far to the South East; such forms as, *forr the naness*, *com to tun*, *burn to ashes*, *at will*, *grim of heart*, *wel* (valdè), *arrn* (sunt), *he gan* followed by the Infinitive, *cneliinng* instead of *cneowung*, *bidell*, *maȝȝ*, *cam*, (venit). The new Subjunctive form that we first saw in the Homilies of 1160 is here repeated; at line 151 of Orrmin's Preface comes—

I shall hafenn addledd.

As to Vowels: the *æ* is often preserved. But it some-

times becomes *a*, as *karrte* for the old *cræt*, *badd* (jussit) for *bæd*, *smacc for smæc;* sometimes it becomes *e*, as *spekenn* for *spæcan*, *efenn* for *æfen*. Orrmin evidently lived not far from the Great Line. *A* is often clipped at the beginning of a word; thus *apostles* become *posstless*, as in the Rushworth Gospels: *arise* and *awake* are also clipped in the true Northern way; *adun* is always replaced by *dun*, our *down*, which is not yet a Preposition. On the other hand *a* is set before the old *bufan* (suprà), whence comes our *above*, and the Scottish *aboon*. *A* replaces *ea*, as *chappniann*, *hard*, and *darr*, for *ceapmann*, *heard*, and *dear*. Orrmin prefers *aw* to *au*, most likely sounding both like the French *ou*; he talks not of *Paul*, but of *Pawell*, though he has also *Saul*;[1] with him *claustrum* becomes *clawwstre*. Orrmin puts *e* for *a* when changing *bita* (fragmentum) into *bite*, at I. p. 300; he takes care to mark that the *i* is short, thus distinguishing it from our word for *morsus*. *E* replaces *ea* and *eo*, as in the Lindisfarne Gospels; we now find *brest*, *callf*, *dep*, *frend*, *lernenn*, *ned*, *held*, *lesenn*, *fe*, *eȝhe*; *nakedd* (nudus) is found instead of *nacod*, and *sleckenn* instead of *slacian*; this last has given us two verbs instead of one, *slake* and *slack*. The interchange between *i* and *y*, so common in Middle English, is seen in *Magy*, the wise men from the East; the *y* must now have lost the sound of the French *u*. *O* is hardly ever written for the Northern *a*; we do find *nowwþerr* and *nowwharr* for the old *nawþer* and *nahwar*; otherwise, this favourite Southern change is kept at bay. Orrmin writes both *awihht* and *oht* for

[1] The Scotch write *Laurence*, the English *Lawrence*.

aliquid, and we have kept both these forms.[1] *O* replaces *ea*, as *þohh* (etsi) for *þeah*; it also replaces *e*; *dost* and *doð* are found instead of the older *dêst* and *dêð*; Orrmin writes both the Icelandic *bôn* and the Old English *bên* for our *prayer*, but he sticks to the old *græf* (nemus); our *grove* was to come later. He replaces *o* by *u* in *funnt* and *bule*; instead of *Galileo* (Galilee) he sometimes has *Galilew*, not *Galilu*; this seems to show that *eo* was not always pronounced like *u*, as some wish to make out. Orrmin writes *ȝho* for *heo* (illa), not *hu*. He has *trowwþe*, dropping the *e* that formerly came before the *o*. When we see his *nœfr*, II. p. 4 (nunquam), shortened for the sake of the verse, it tells us how our poetic *ne'er* arose in the North. The old *siofian* now becomes *suhȝhenn*, our *sough*. Orrmin is fond of running vowels into each other, and sometimes cuts short the last vowel in *temple*, *maystre*, *shuldre*, when they are followed by a vowel sound; *het* is written for *he it* (II. 253), which shows how the old *hit* (id) had lost the sound of its first letter.

As to Consonants, *gelang* becomes *bilenge*, 'belonging to,' just as we saw the interchange of *b* and *g* in *belief*. The *p*, of near kin to *b*, was hardly ever used to begin a word in English; *path* and *play* are the only very early homeborn words, now in use, that commence with *p*; nearly all Orrmin's words that begin with this letter are Church Latin phrases, for *p* is one of the chief letters in Greek and Latin. He will not turn *f* into *v* in the Southern

[1] Orrmin's *awihht* was written *ewt* and *out* in other places, not long after this time; he writes *strawwenn* for our *strew*. Here we have a hint as to the sound of the old *aw*.

way, for he writes *silferr* and *hæfedd*. With him the *c* is often turned into *ch*, as *tæchenn*, *bennche*, *læche*, *macche*, *spæche*, *chosenn*; *wakeman*, however, holds its ground against *watchman*. Orrmin was the second English writer, so far as is known, who pretty regularly used *sh* instead of the former *sc*; he wrote *shæwenn*, *shall*, and *shame*. This change began in the South, and the older form had not altogether gone out in the North, for he writes both *biskop* and *bishop*. Nowhere more clearly than in the Ormulum can we see the struggle between the Old and the New. The *g* is often supplanted by ȝ; Orrmin seems to find this useful in distinguishing the Icelandic *gate* (via) from the English *geat* (porta); his word for the latter is still found in Scotland as *yett*. Orrmin first placed ȝ at the end of a word after a vowel, as *þeȝȝ* (they), *naȝȝ* instead of the old *ne*; *aȝȝ* as well as *a* (semper). He gave us *lay* instead of the Peterborough *lai*. He drops the final *h*, turning *feh* (feoh) into *fe*. The words *eorþlic* and *eaðelice* are softened down to *erþliȝ* and *ɐþeliȝ* (easily).[1] *Druȝoð* becomes *druhhþe* (drouth); we sometimes put the old *g* into this last word. We have still left the old *wægen* (waggon); we have also *wæn*, Orrmin's *waȝȝn* (wain). Not only *heȝhe*, but *heh*, is written for our *high*; hence we talk of the *hey-day* of youth. The old *eagan* (oculi) now became *eȝhne*, our poetical *eyne*, the Scotch *een*. But Orrmin will never soften the *g* into *w*; he even holds aloof from the old *gesawon*. Sometimes he throws out *ge* altogether in the middle of a word; thus *ungelic* becomes *unnlic* (unlike).

[1] I was amused at one critic rating me for using *scholarlike* as well as *scholarly*. Let him brush up his Middle English.

Augustine is cut down to *Awwstin*, as he still appears in our family names. The *t* is sometimes thrown out; *haletan* becomes *hezlenn* (to hail). This is still more the case with *th*; the old *oððe* (aut) is seen as *oþþr*, and this is twice pared down to *orr* (or). Tyndale, 330 years later, sometimes has the old *other* for the new *or*. As *oððe* became *oþþr*, so did Orrmin give *ne* (nec) an *r* at the end; we find at Vol. II. 223,

Ner eteþþ ne, ne drinnkeþþ.

This *ner* (written by Layamon *no*) ninety years later became our *nor*; the newfangled word could not wholly drive out the old *ne* (used by Campian) until 1580.[1] Orrmin seems to have had a foreknowledge of Grimm's Law; he turns the Latin *triplex* into *þripell*. He once uses the corrupt *ner* of the South for the rightful *neh* (prope). He has both the old *wurrþshipe* and the new *wurrshipe*, worship. He often writes *uppo* for *upon*; this is one of the Derbyshire peculiarities that have been lately brought home to all lovers of good English by the authoress of 'Adam Bede'; the old *uppe* preceded the later *uppan*. The *n* replaces *l*, for *sæclode* becomes *secnedd* (sickened), just as *Sol* and *Sun* are but two forms of one old Aryan word. The *l* is inserted, as in *cnelenn*; *healfunga* becomes *hallflingess*, a word still in Scotch use; the *es*, as usual, is now added to round off the old Adverb. The *as* is cut off in *Tobias*, which becomes *Tobi*. Even Orrmin, good Teuton though he be, cannot

[1] I do not refer to Spenser's *ne* here; he did not use the language of his own day.

resist putting the French *c* for the old *s* in his word *millce* (mercy). When he writes *beȝȝsannȝ*, (the coins so called,) we see that the ȝ is beginning to stand for our *z*, as well as for our *y*. He keeps near to the Old English in his *Judisskenn* and *Judew* (Judæus); he knows nothing of the French way of throwing out the *d* here. He transposes letters when he writes *gresshoppe*, *fressh*, *wrohhte*; *wyrhta* (faber) becomes *wrihhte*; in his *utbresstenn* he follows the Scandinavian *bresta* rather than the Old English *œtberstan*. He unluckily transposes the old *hw*, writing *what* instead of *hwœt*, and so with other words. If we had kept the *h* in its proper place, we should now have full in our view the link between the English *hwœt* and the Latin *cwid* (quid).[1] As regards the sound of *hwœt*, English stands high above German. Orrmin, moreover, transposes consonants when he writes *lhude* and *rhof*. At Vol. II., p. 280, we read of *talde laȝhe* (ea antiqua lex); this change of *th* into *t*, and this running of vowels together, is still found in shires not far from Derby; *the hayloft* becomes *tallot*.

As to Substantives: the old Plural *cildru* now appears as *chilldre*, which still lingers in Lancashire; 'gang whoam to thee childer and me,' as we read in the fine modern ballad. Our corrupt Plural *children* came from the South, as also did *brethren* and *kine*. We still keep the old *sunne beam*, but Orrmin has a corrupt Genitive in *sunness lihht* (II. p. 112). He forms a

[1] The interchange between *c* and *h* has not died out in our island; I have heard Scotch peasants talk of a *cwirlwind* instead of *hwirlwind*. A Tuscan talks of the Emperor *Harlo Quinto*; a Roman calls him *Carlo*.

wholly new Plural when talking of *seffne goddnessess* (virtutes), in his Preface, line 276; he also corrupts *deor* (the Latin *ferœ*) into *deoress* (deers); we have happily not followed him here. The old *manna* (hominum) is wonderfully altered, when we read, in I. p. 243, of *gode menness herrtess.* He uses *menn* for males and females alike in I. p. 165; our wiser age would talk of *individuals*, which is a longer word than *persons.* The Dative is mishandled by him, as much as it is by us; we read that *wiñ wass broht þatt allderrmann*; *to lenenn* (lend) *þa menn.* The Accusative replaces the Genitive in the phrase *whatt gate summ he ganngeþþ*; there is a double Accusative in *to ledenn hemm þe weȝȝe.* As in the Blickling Homilies, we get a hint of our *on the spot* (continuo) when we hear that Nathanael believed *forrþrihht i stede son summ he* &c. II. p. 125. The stern terseness of old speech comes out when Christ heads his quotations from Scripture with *boc seȝȝþ* (liber ait), omitting the Definite Article, II. p. 41. A new piece of slang has arisen of late years, 'it will suit you down to the ground' (omnino). It seems to be hinted at in II. p. 133, *þiss wiñ iss drunnkenn to þe grund.* There is now and then a word used by Orrmin in a sense that seems strange to us; the chariot that bore Elijah aloft is called a *karrte*; the poor woman who shared her scanty food with that prophet is addressed by him as *laffdig*; the word *allderrman* still means a prince, and sometimes an abbot. Rather later, in a Latin Charter of 1255, given by Henry III. to Oxford, *alderman* is used of nothing higher than burghers; (Stubbs, 'Documents,' p. 368). We find for the first time such compounds as *overking, overlord,* words happily

revived in our own day.[1] *Weddlac* (wedlock) now appears where of old *wiflac* would have been used. The former word, before Orrmin's time, meant no more than the Latin *pignus*. The Old English *woruld* stood for *sæculum*, and nothing more; it now begins to stand for *orbis*.[2] The latter was earlier translated by *middan-eard*; Orrmin, at II. p. 256, compounds the Old and the New, talking of the *middell werelld*. *Lîc* was the Old English word for *corpus*, though it is in our day found only in *Lichfield* and *lych-gate*; *bodig* usually meant the trunk or chest; but Orrmin uses *bodiȝ* far oftener than *lîc*, in our sense of the word. In one line he forms a new Substantive out of the two, speaking of *bodiȝlich*. The word *flail*, akin to the *flegil* of the mainland, now first appears in English. *Bone* (boon) changes its meaning; it had meant *prayer*, but it now sometimes means *favour*, as we use it; in I. p. 263, comes *þatt bone þatt he ȝeornde* (craved). In II. p. 125, the word *trowwþe*, our *troth*, means *belief*; this last sense was of old expressed by *treôwe*. A new word, *kinnessmann* (cognatus), now appears; so does *clâþing* (clothing). The North of England was soon to abound in Verbal Nouns. We read, in I. p. 247, that Herod was not crowned *o Godess hallfe*; this is the Scandinavian *af Guðs halfu*, and fore-

[1] One critic is much disgusted at my using *overlord*; in this I simply follow my betters. He would probably prefer *superior dominator*, or *hyper-despot*. He stands up for *sociology* as a neat compound; so he would of all things, I suppose, prefer *hyper-dominator*.

[2] This word is still rightly pronounced as a dissyllable in Scotland; as in Lady Nairne's *Mitherless Lammie*:—

'But it wad gae witless the *warald* to see.'

shadows our *behalf*, which came a hundred years later; the passage may be translated by *on God's part*. In II. p. 333, is the first example, I think, of our common use of *folk* without an article before it; it no longer means a *nation*, but *men*; Christ was baptizing *folk*. In Orrmin's *werkkedaȝh*, the new form of *weorc-dæg*, we find the first germ of Shakspeare's *workaday world*.

As to Adjectives: in I. p. 280, we see how they changed their meaning, *iwhillc mann wass himm full laþ to nehhȝhenn*; here the *laþ* means *odiosum*; but as years went on the Dative *iwhillc mann* was taken for a Nominative, and thus the *laþ* got the meaning of *invitus*. Orrmin's *follhsumm* (compliant) has not yet the degrading sense of our *fulsome*; indeed, the latter is said to be connected with *foul*. He uses *sheepish* in a sense far removed from ours, applying the word to a man who *meekly* follows Christ's pattern. He has, in II. p. 182, when relating the miracle at Cana—

þin forrme win iss swiþe god,
þin lattre win iss bettre.

Here we have the opposition between *former* and *latter* (posterior); the old *lator* meant only *serior*; this new sense of the Comparative is found in Dorsetshire twenty years after this time. The *ful* was coming in, as an Adjectival ending; we now light on *þohtful*.

In his Pronouns, Orrmin shows that he is a near neighbour to Northumbria. He uses *I* and *icc*; *þeȝȝ*, *þeȝȝre*, *þeȝȝm*; but sometimes replaces the two last by *heore*, *hemm*.[1] It was two hundred and sixty years before *their* and *them* came into Standard English; they are

[1] The Gothic *þaim* for *illis* is in St. John, vi. 7.

true Scandinavian forms. Unlike the Peterborough Chronicler, Orrmin sticks to the Old English *heo* (in Latin, *ea*), which he writes *ȝho*. In I. p. 42, there is an unusual form; *þu cwennkesst i þi sellf modiȝnesse*. This of old would have been *þe silf*; *self* seemed to be a Noun, something like *person*; Shakspeare has 'her sweet self.' In I. p. 85, we see our common form *theirs* for the first time; *till eȝȝþerr þeȝȝress herrte*. Forms like *ours* and *yours* were to come later. This Scandinavian form took long to reach the South; three hundred years later, Skelton wrote both *I am yours* and *I am your*. Orrmin employs *that* before Masculines for the Latin *ille*, which is something quite new; London kept this at bay and stuck to *thilk* for two hundred and fifty years longer. In I. p. 227, we see—

whase itt iss þatt lufeþþ griþþ
þatt mann shall findenn Jesu Crist.

For the Plural of this *þatt* he employs *þa*, which fifty years later was to become *þas* (those) in the North. *This* and *that* are for the first time coupled together in I. p. 323—

Whatt tiss and tatt profete.

That is set before *illke* (idem) in I. p. 158; *þatt illke mann*; *that same* is still used instead of *the same* in some parts of our country. This *ylc* was being encroached upon, though it still lingers in Scotland; as Redgauntlet of that Ilc (de eodem). Orrmin has *same* once, and once only—

He mihhte makenn cwike menn
þær off þa same staness.—I. p. 345.

This root *same* is good Sanscrit and Gothic; the Norse *sams* means *ejusdem generis*. Nothing in English is stranger than that this Scandinavian word, which was confined to the North long after Orrmin's time, should have driven out the old *ylc*. We now once more see King Alfred's *geonre* (isto), after a long interval; *o ȝonnd hallf þe flumm* (on yonder side the stream), II. p. 12. There is a great change in Relative Pronouns; a very foreign idiom comes in II. p. 94: *her iss whamm ȝuw birrþ follȝhenn*; this is the first time that the antecedent *se* or *he* before *whamm* is dropped. The old *hwylc* is employed as a Masculine Relative; *all whillke shulenn cwemenn me* (omnes qui), II. p. 261; hence comes our famous *which art in Heaven*. The same happened to the German *welcher*. It had not yet been settled how the Neuter Relative *quod* was to be Englished; Orrmin uses the kindred word *what*. We may see how this came to be employed as a Relative by comparing his *all whattse iss sinne* with his *all þatt whatt itt bitacneþþ*, I. p. 36; he uses it sometimes without an antecedent, as in II. p. 91, *tu shallt sen þurrh whatt tu shallt me cnawenn*; the phrase, they *herdenn whatt he seȝȝde*, II. p. 188, has had a longer life. The old *hwylc* formerly expressed the kindred Latin *qualis*; this *hwylc* was being replaced by the word we now use; in II. p. 120, comes, *he seþ what lif þeȝȝ ledenn*. Cleasby's Dictionary gives us the Scandinavian idiom *hvat manna ertú*. The phrase *whatt time* is used for *when*, I. p. 251, and this is still employed by our poets. This *what* had already been coupled with the Masculine Plural *hlafas* in the Rushworth Gospels, written not far to the North

of Orrmin's abode; he favours something like this idiom when writing *whatt mann*, II. p. 202. The old *hwæt* had always stood for *aliquid*; it seems now to English *res*, as well as *quis*, *qualis*, and *quod*. The Essex *sum del* is in Orrmin's mouth *summwhatt*, which we still keep; this was of old *hwæt litles*; we also find *sum oþerr* and *summwhær*. The phrase *þatt illke whatt* (eadem res) is in II. p. 293. The old *swa hwa swa*, followed by the Verb, is wonderfully expanded in Orrmin's *whase itt iss þatt stiȝheþþ*, II. p. 20; this *it* was now being very freely used throughout England; in II. p. 250, we find *þurrh Godess ȝife itt wass þatt* &c.; in I. p. 162, comes *whatt witt itt iss i þe to* &c.; in former times *þæt* would have been used instead of this *itt*. In I. p. 137 is the parent of our *if so be that*; Orrmin has *ȝiff þatt iss þatt he misdoþ*. Even earlier than this, *þæt* might have followed *ealle*; we now hear that a man's wife must guard him *all þatt ȝho maȝȝ*, I. p. 214. The *all* is prefixed by Orrmin in the usual way to Participles and Adjectives. The form first found in the Blickling Homilies, written not far from Orrmin's shire, was now being imitated; *ælc* was taking *an* after it, whence comes the Scotch *ilka*; we see *ille an off alle þa*, and also *swille an* (such a) *drunnkennesse þatt*, II. p. 137; a new idiom. So is *ure kinde iss swillc þatt*, I. p. 20. The Substantive is now dropped after *gnough*; we may find *inoȝhe þatt ledenn* &c., I. p. 10; here we must supply *men*.

As to Numerals, *an* had long been used standing by itself, answering to *quidam*; it is now set before a proper name for the first time; at I. p. 287,

we hear of *an Filippe*, (one Philip,) 'Philippus quidam.' We see a new phrase in I. p. 149; Orrmin talks of *ehhte sipess an* (eight times one). We find *all an* used in two different senses: at II. p. 193, it means that Christ is *wholly one* with God; at II. p. 40 we hear that man cannot

bi bræd all ane libbenn.

This is our first glimpse of the future *alone*; many such forms with *al* prefixed were soon to follow. Another Middle English form for *solus* may be seen at II. p. 54; *he wass himm ane*, a Reflexive Dative; of this the Lowland Scotch have still traces.[1] The word *ænes* (once) had before stood for *semel*, it now takes the meaning of *olim*; I. p. 62, *ha wass æness wurþenn blind.* The old meaning is found in I. p. 35, *þatt wass aȝȝ æness o þe ȝer*; we here see that our *a* in *once a year* is but a clipped *on*. The old *ærest* (primus) was now rapidly giving way to *first*, which was to be the English word in future for this number; we hear of the *twa firsste* menn (I. page 261); here *þa forman twâ* would have been used before this time.[2] We come upon the true old long form of our phrase *three fourths*, &c.; we hear, at I. p. 320, of something divided *o fowwre feorþenn ðaless*; we now

[1] This Reflexive Dative may be seen in Lady Nairne's Poems, p. 211:—

'Oh! wha will dry the dreeping tear
She sheds *her lane*, she sheds *her lane!*

This *lane* (ane) was at last mistaken for a Noun; as in p. 209:—

'The kettle, for me, sud hae couped its lane.'

[2] Which is right, *the first two* or *the two first*? Something like the former phrase has always been used; the latter dates from later times, and both have been used by good writers down to 1800.

drop the last word. *Hunndredd*, more akin to the Scandinavian than to the Old English *hund*, is employed.

Orrmin has many changes in the Verb. For the Latin *sunt*, we find *arrn*, as well as *beon* and *sinndenn*. The first of these was hardly ever used in the South or West of England; it comes from the Angles, as we saw in the Northumbrian Gospels. *Hi wæron* sometimes, as in the Southern Homilies, becomes *þezz wære*; but a more wonderful change is *þu wære* turned into *þu wass*, the Gothic *wast* (eras); *ic sceal* becomes *I shall*. We see the last of the pure form of the Old English *si* (in Latin, *sit*); it survives, somewhat clipped, in our *yes*, i.e. *ge si*. *Beô* is in the Ormulum cut down to *be*, and *beon* (esse) to *ben*. Orrmin uses the old *ic mót*, *þu móst*, and also a new Scandinavian auxiliary verb, which is employed even now from Caithness to Derbyshire.[1] Such a phrase as *I mun do this* is first found in his work; the *mun* is the Scandinavian *muna*; but *mune* in the Ormulum implies futurity, not necessity.

The new Pluperfect was taking fast root; *ȝiff* (he) *hæffde frazznedd*, 'if he had asked;' here the Imperfect would have followed *if* in the oldest English. Our phrase 'he is grown' is more respectable than 'he has grown;' for we find in Orrmin *ȝho wass waxenn*, also *waterr wass flowedd*; the Passive, not the Active. Orrmin shows us the future extension that was to be given to the former voice in English; he has in II. p. 58, *Godd wass þeowwtedd* (served); in I. p. 294, *þe*

[1] Some years ago I heard an old Derbyshire gamekeeper use the verb; its Gothic form is in St. John vi. 15.

land þatt himm was bedenn sekenn; in II. p. 63 *mannkinn forrbodenn iss to fandenn.* None of the Aryan tongues was to use the Passive so freely as the English now does; Horace's *ego procurare imperor* is something most unusual in Latin. In earlier times men talked of '*a lamb to offer*;' Orrmin has the great change, II. p. 85, *an lamb to ben offredd*; we are more correct than he was when we say 'I am to blame,' 'this house to let,' 'if the thing were to do again;' our true old Gerundial forms. He clips the Imperative, writing *loc* instead of *locigð*, II. p. 90, where the word is specially addressed to many men. The Infinitive is used as the equivalent of a preceding Substantive in II. p. 223; *all forrsokenn hiss lare, and himm to follȝhenn*; so in I. p. 220, a man pleases God *wipp messess and wipp to letenn swingenn himm*; we should now use the Verbal Noun, instead of these Gerundial Infinitives, and this must be kept in mind when discussing the hard question of *ing* final. There is a curious change of meaning in *neden*; Orrmin uses it in its old sense *cogere*, but he also employs it for *egere* (in Icelandic, *nauð-synja*); *menn þatt nedenn to þin hellpe*, I. p. 213. He has the Scandinavian verb *want* with the Accusative. We still keep the old meaning of *dælan* (partiri); Orrmin gives it a new sense in I. p. 213, *ille an mann þatt ohht wipp þe shall dælenn* (have dealings with); this sense comes from Scandinavia. *Miss* here governs an Accusative, not a Genitive; in I. p. 310, the parents *missten þeȝȝre child*.

At I. p. 188, we read of *þe bede þatt mann bitt* in the Paternoster; the *bede* here bidden still stands for something abstract; it was not until Chaucer's time that men

could talk of 'a pair of beads.' A great load has been thrown on our verb *bid*; we may *bid* beads, *bid* to supper, *bid* a servant go, or *bid* at an auction. The old meaning of *stintan* was 'to be weary;' it now has the meaning of 'to leave off.' See II. p. 92. The old *mænan* had the sense of 'to intend;' it now has the further sense of 'to signify.' We hear of the turtle, I. p. 42, that when she loses her mate, *ne kepeþþ ȝho wiþþ oþerr*; here *keep* means *manere*, a new sense of the word. We find *patt iss to seggen*, which is a continuation of an Old English idiom; like 'do you to wit'; we follow Scandinavian forms in *bere himm wittness*, *brinngenn till ende*. The Infinitive follows *enough* when the latter is preceded by an Adjective, as *strang inoh to werrpenn*. The old Gothic *instandan* (perseverare) is here seen as *stanndenn inn to*; the source of our 'I stand to win,' &c. Orrmin has *he strac inn*, from the old *strican* (ire).[1] But the Danish *take* is now greatly developed. We find, as at Peterborough, the phrase, 'he took to do so and so;' Orrmin carries this idea a step further; we hear that some men *tokenn hemm till Crist*, II. p. 230; also that the widowed Anna, I. p. 266, *toc wiþþ nan oþerr* (husband); the common phrase now would be 'take up with.' At I. p. 256 comes the Scandinavian shade of meaning, *takenn on hæþinng*; hence our 'take in joke.' At I. p. 86, the Virgin *toc onn to fraȝȝnenn*, 'went on to ask;' hence our 'do not take on so,' that is, 'go on so.' At I. p. 323, comes

[1] Sir Roger de Coverley at the theatre *struck in*, hearing some people talk near him. Addison would have been puzzled to give the derivation of this verb.

takeþþ upponn ȝuw. At II. p. 148, Cain *toc niþ ȝen Abæl*; hence our 'take a fancy to' &c. The waterpots, II. p. 133, *tokenn* (contained) *prefald mett.* At II. p. 117, *Filippe toc Natanaæl wiþþ wordess* (Græcia victorem cepit); so in Burns, 'he takes the mother's eye.' It is not enough to study the meaning of the word *take* in Bosworth's 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary;' Cleasby's Icelandic Lexicon must be carefully searched; this especially holds good in the case of writers who lived to the North of the Great Sundering Line.

Orrmin uses *assken* (rogare), instead of the Southern *acsian*, and we have here followed him; the Irish still employ *axe*, since the first English settlers in Ireland came from Bristol and the South.

We find both *bikæchedd* and *bikahht* for *caught.* This new word, which we saw first in the South, must have spread fast in England.

He sometimes turns a Strong Verb into a Weak one, a process begun long before his time. He uses *hæfedd* (elatum) as well as *hofenn*; he has *sleppte* (dormivit), where it ought to be *slep*; *weppten* (fleverunt), instead of *weópon*; *trededd* (depressus), instead of *treden.*

As might be expected, Orrmin follows the Northern *hafan* rather than the Southern *habban* (habere). We find a near approach to our modern corruption *hast* in his line—

Himm *haffst* tu slaȝenn witterrliȝ.—I. page 154.

Scorcnedd (scorched) appears for the first time in English; Wedgwood quotes the Low Dutch *schroggen*, which has the same meaning.

Orrmin uses both the Strong and the Weak form for the Past Participle of *show*; he has both *shæwenn* and *shæwedd*. We now prefer the former, though the latter is the true form; just as we mistakenly write *strewn* for *strewed*. But in the matter of Strong and Weak Verbs, we usually err on the other side.

As to Adverbs: *forþwiþþ* appears for the first time, but is used only once by Orrmin, who sticks to the old *forrþrihht*. He was the first to use *rihht* before an Adjective instead of *swiþe* (valdè); the foreign *very* has now almost driven out this old Adverb; *rihht* is also employed by him where we should say *just*, *þezz rihht nohht ne wisstenn*, II. p. 333. *Wrang* is here used as an adverb; it was formerly a substantive only; *he toc lare all wrang*, II. p. 60. Another Scandinavian idiom appears; *wel* is used as an Adjective in I. p. 251, it *wass wel þat Crist wass borenn*. The old *uteweard* is changed into *utterrlike*, which, however, does not as yet take our sense of the word. We have seen *þurhut* arise forty years earlier; from this *þurrhutlike* (our *thoroughly*) is now formed. The *siððan* is here used much like our *ago*; *nohht lannge sippenn*, like Scott's 'sixty years since;' this is the first hint of 'auld lang syne.' A new adverb suddenly appears at II. p. 302; 'thou makest future arks through the one that is *all rædiȝ i þin herrte*'; what before meant *paratus* may henceforth mean *jam*, and this we shall see repeated in other Danish shires. *Whilum* is used in the sense of *quondam*, as in the Lindisfarne Gospels; a proof that Orrmin lived not far from Yorkshire. The curious word *bidene* (in Dutch, *by that*) is now first found in England; we kept it in use for three hundred years.

In I. p. 254, the star, as is there said, *flæh na forrþerr mar*; here *more* is needlessly added, something like *Most Highest*; hence comes our *furthermore*, a word found eighty years later in the Sir Tristrem. Orrmin repeats his words in the Old English way, as *bett and bett, mar and mar*; he unites the opposing adverbs, *nu upp, nu dun*; *her and tære* (here and there). We use *never* in the sense of the Latin *ne* or *non*, as 'never fear;' this sense of the word is seen in Orrmin, II. p. 4; St. John made known that *he nass næfr an off þe þreo* (non erat &c.). *Na mare* (non amplius) is used like *no longer*, referring to time; 'God would care *na mare* to be served in that way,' I. p. 352. There is a change in I. p. 258, *ȝiff þatt teȝȝ sholldenn oþerr nohht wendenn* (go or not); in the old time this *nohht* would have been *nâ*. *Hereof* and *whereof* are found; also *her uppe* (hereupon), I. p. 38, though it in this passage means *herein*; *tær abutenn* (thereabout) appears. The adverb *away* is more freely used; at I. p. 241, we hear *þatt Josæp wass aweȝȝe* (absent). Prepositions are now much employed as Adverbs; as *upp inn heoffne*; *ȝiff þu willt habbenn off þin gillt*, I. p. 188; the week *wass gan all ut*, I. p. 150; *biggenn ut* (redimere), I. p. 271.

We have already seen *as though*; *alls iff* (quasi) now replaces the Old English *swilc*. The Danish *sumn* is often used instead of the English *swa*, and it is still heard in *whatsomever*. Tyndale long afterwards used *now* to English the Greek *oun*, as in St. Luke x. 36; Orrmin foreshadows this in I. p. 153; after referring to what he had before said, he asks *whi seȝȝde icc nu þat* &c. In I. p. 69, he has *ne talde þeȝȝ nohht teȝȝre kinn, uppwarrd ne*

dunnwarrd nowwperr; this new phrase is the one instance, I think, in which we may now use that true Old English idiom of the twofold negative. Many standard authors may be quoted for it, down to Knowles in his 'Virginius:' 'we needn't say that neither.' Let us not allow this fine old relic to perish utterly. Orrmin somewhat alters the Old English shape of those Conjunctions that are formed from Prepositions: instead of *æfter þam þe* followed by the Verb, he has *afterr þatt*; he has also *before that, for that, in that, through that.* He goes still further, and forms *while that, if that*, and *rather than that*; we are now apt to clip the *that.*

As to Prepositions: there is a new sense of *with* at II. p. 34; Christ's generations, it is said, go through *weress* (men) *fowwertiȝ annd an wiþþ Crist himm sellfenn*; that is, if Christ be added. Orrmin has also *to wed with, to berenn upp wiþþ* (hence our *put up with*), I. p. 128. The *wiþþ* is made an adverb and repeated, for the sake of emphasis; 'I will show you *wiþþ and wiþþ*;' something like Orrmin's new *withal* (omnino). Layamon about the same time was writing *through and through*; *by and by* was to come later. Orrmin uses the old *binnan* of time; he has also *wiþþinnenn* in the same sense, as *wiþþinnenn sexe ȝeress.* He employs *for* when referring to time, as *forr lannge* (for long); earlier writers would have had *to* instead of this *for*, and the same remark applies in *for the nonce.* He has *forr nane gode* (for no good), II. p. 182, and *seek for*; the last word would have been *after* in Old English. There is a new Preposition in I. p. 354; St. John forbids the Publicans to take aught *forrþ bi þe kingess fe*; this is the source of the Scotch *forby* (præter).

The pair *in* and *on* interchange as usual. We see *don himm i þeȝȝre walde*, II. p. 221, (put him in their power). A wholly new idiom appears in I. p. 104; Christ is said to be *Godd inn himm selfenn*, that is 'taken by himself,' (*per se*), in his own nature. Earlier Englishmen called *to* heaven; Orrmin shows us how the *to* was replaced by *on* at I. p. 58, *Crist biddeþþ uppon his faderr*; he has also 'to set a name upon him.' Where we say 'to draw men *on* to' &c., Orrmin substitutes *upponn*, II. p. 180. This *upon* marks hostility; in I. p. 248, Herod thinks that the *Magi* were *upponn himm cumenn* with views of their own; the idea may be seen in the Chronicle about the time of Rufus, and it survives in our *seize upon, encroach upon, find stolen goods upon a man.* The old *to* is replaced by *inntill* (into) when Orrmin boasts of his turning a book *inntill Ennglisshe*; he was not polished enough, I fear, to talk of *semi-Saxon.*[1] He has also *sammnenn* (gather) *þise inntill an.* Indeed, his *inntill* seems to foreshadow our *until, unto*, when we read in I. p. 250, *ledenn hemm þe weȝȝe inntill þatt tun.* *Over* is strengthened by *all*, much as we use it; the flood passed *all oferr erþe.* The old *gelang on* (per) is cut down; we hear in II. p. 110 that something *iss lang o Cristess hellpe*; Scott keeps this old phrase in his 'Dark Musgrave, it was long of thee;' but the common folk now prefer 'all along of thee;' the *on* and the *of*, as usual, interchange. *Toward* replaces the old *for* and *wiþ*, as *lufe towarrd*

[1] Orrmin, in the eyes of some of our would-be philologers, must appear as ignorantly presumptuous as King Alfred himself. The idea of their barbarous jargon being accounted English!

Godess hus, II. p. 188; in the Essex Homilies the Preposition here employed was *togenes*. *Bi* is now used before a Pronoun to express isolation, like the Greek *kata*; St. John, we hear, grew up and *cuþe ben himm ane bi hinm sellfenn*, I. p. 25. We find *at* used after the verb *begin*; heretics say that Christ *bigann* (ortus est) *att Sannte Marȝe*, II. p. 295; we should now, in such a phrase, use *from*. Another new employment of *at* comes from the Scandinavian; *he chœs all att hiss wille*, I. p. 120. *From* is put before the Danish þeþenn; as *fra* þeþenn-*forrþ* (from thenceforward), a needless addition; in Scandinavian, *heðan fra* stands for our *hence*. Orrmin has both *free of* and *free from*, with a Noun following. That Preposition, which has been encroached on by *from*, is itself used in many new senses: we find *ware of*, *glad of*, *rich of*, *kisstiȝ* (liberal) *of*; this *of* replaces the old *bi*, (the Latin *de*), in *think of*, *hear of*, *ask of*, *bear witness of*, *bigripenn* (rebuke) *of*, *write of how it was*; the old Genitive makes way for *of* in *repent of*, *the tale of eight*, *the hope of*, *love of*, *need of*, *loss of*, *somewhat of*, *aught of*, *two of*, *upper hand of*; in II. p. 125, we find first *Godess ȝife*, and in the next line *ȝife off Godd*; there is the old form, *Rome burrh*, and the new form, *burrh off Ȝerrsalem*. There are such phrases as *see ifell ende off himm*, I. p. 174; *off siþre* (of late), I. p. 252; *wase off his kinn*, I. p. 8; *teȝȝ ne fundenn nohht off himm*, I. p. 310; like 'see more of him.' The *to* is as much developed by Orrmin as the *of*; we find *look to himself*, *fresh to* (his work), *burn to ashes*; the Dative is replaced, in *herrsumm* (obedient) *till* him; the Infinitive, following another Verb, has *to* often prefixed, as *forbid to go*, *help to do*,

set him to do, chose them to be, care to, doom to, be loth to, forletan (neglect) *to, behoves to.* The idiom *give to wife* is one of our oldest phrases; Orrmin carries this a little further in I. p. 255, *whattse þu dost to gode*; we still say, 'I am so much to the good.' At II. p. 133, comes *þiss winn iss drunkenn to þe grund*; here the *to* replaces the old *oð* of the Southern shires.

Orrmin's work proves that the Trent country had not yet lost the power of compounding words with Prepositions and such prefixes as *even, full, un,* and *wan.* This gives wonderful strength and pith to his verse. We degenerate writers of New English use few compounds but those with *out, over, fore,* and *under*; in this respect England (it is the weak point of our tongue) falls woefully short of India, Greece, and Germany. Most striking is the number of Orrmin's words beginning with the privative *un.* We have lost many of them, and have thus sadly weakened our diction; but our best writers are awaking to a sense of our loss, and such words as *unwisdom* are coming in once more. Orrmin had no need to write the Latin *immortality* when he had ready to hand such a word as *unndæþshildignesse,* implying even more than the Latin.[1]

Orrmin writes feelingly on the duties of kings to their peoples, as would be natural in a born subject of the two sons of Henry II. 'A Christian King,' says he, 'should be *rihhtwis and milde, and god wiþþ all hiss*

[1] One professor of *fine writing* was very wroth in print with me for my ideas about English compounds. He would be glad, I have no doubt, to substitute *impontadaptability* for Mr. Plimsoll's vulgarly Teutonic word, *unseaworthiness.*

follc, or God will hold him worse than that heathen Emperor who drove out Archelaus for oppression, and for nothing else,' I. p. 286. Orrmin had doubtless heard of the doings of a later Emperor, Henry VI., who was the cause of draining England of much gold; the old bard writes of Augustus as *an Romanisshe Kaserrking*, a title which seems so much to puzzle the English of our day. Orrmin must have known all about that sovereignty which was styled in the documents of his day, 'the Roman name and the German sway.' He talks of *bezzsannz* (besants), and evidently has an eye to the Crusades in I. p. 153, where he says that no man ought to be killed unless he seeks to slay you, *forr Crisstendom to cwennkenn* (quench).

One of the peculiar shibboleths brought hither by the Danes was the word *gar* (facere), still to be found in Scotland. Orrmin uses the compounds *forrgart* and *oferrgarrt*. The verb is found neither in High nor in Low German. The Scandinavian *gow* is used by him for *observare*; hence comes our *a-gog*, the Icelandic *à gœgium* (on the watch). Orrmin's Danish Adjective, *trigg* (*fidus*), has not died out of our Northern speech; *hutenn* (vituperare), which first appears in Orrmin's work, is a puzzle to lexicographers, and may come either from the Welsh or the Scandinavian. England cleaves to her own old word *leap*; Scotland to the Danish *laupa* (loup); they are both found in the Ormulum. The South of England is wont to *lark* (ludere), the Old English *lacan*; the North of England follows Orrmin's *lezzkenn*, the Iceland *at leika*. When we say 'follow my *lead*,' we are using Orrmin's Icelandic word *leiδ* (ductus); the

Old English *lâd* meant only *iter*. We derive our modern use of the word *shift* (mutare) from the Scandinavian, and not from the Old English; in the latter the word means 'to distribute,' and nothing more. We see the two senses in Orrmin's work, I. p. 13, where he speaks of Zachariah's service in the Temple. Our word *shift* (chemise) means only a *change* of linen. We speak of '*sticking* a man into a thing;' this is Orrmin's *stekenn* (figere), akin to an old German word. The Scotch say 'steke the door.' His *Ȝerrsalæm* for Jerusalem is a true Danish form. His *maȝȝstredwale* (arch-heretic) is an early instance of compounding French and Teutonic Nouns into one word. He uses *hurt* for *offendere, lædere*; this is akin to the Dutch.

It would be endless to point out all Orrmin's Scandinavian leanings. In our word for the Latin *stella*, he prefers the Danish *stierne* to the Old English *steorra*, writing it *sterrne*. He even uses *og*, the Danish word for '*et*' in a phrase lik *aȝȝ occ aȝȝ*. He employs the Danish ending *leȝȝc* as well as the English *ness* in his Substantives, as *modiȝleȝȝc, modiȝnesse*. In *tende*, his word for *decimus*, he follows the Danish *tiende* rather than the Old English *teoðða*; our *tenth* seems to be a compound of the two. The English Church talks of *tithes*, the Scotch Kirk of *teinds*. He uses a crowd of Danish words which I do not notice, since they have dropped out of use. Like the Peterborough Chronicler, Orrmin has *frå, wicke, wrang, wiless, ploh, kirrkegærd*. While weighing the mighty changes that were clearly at work in his day, we get some idea of the influence that the Danish settlement of 870 has had upon our tongue. I give a list of those

Scandinavian words, used by him, which have kept their place in our speech.[1]

Old English.	*Scandinavian.*	*Orrmin.*
Tynan	Angra	Anngrenn, *to anger*
Tintregian	Beita	Bezten, *to bait*
Unscearp	Blunda, *dormire*	Blunnt
Ceapsetl	Búð	Boþe, *booth*
Fear	Boli	Bule, *bull*
Hræd	Buinn	Bun, *ready*[2]
Sniðan	Klippa	Clip, *tondere*
Searu	Krokr, *uncus*	Croc, *a device*
Sweltan	Deyja	Deȝe, *die*
Wunian	Dvelia, *delay*	Dwelle[3]
Afaran	Flytta	Flitte, *remove*
Paþ	Gata	Gate, *path*
Freme	Gagn, *commodum*	Gaȝhenn, *gain*
Gescrepelice	Gegnilega, *conveniently*	Geȝȝnlike[4]
Cræft	Ginna, *decipere*	Ginn, *a contrivance*
Ceápman	Okr, *usury*	Huccster[5]
Yfel	Illa	Ille, *ill*
Ticcen	Kid	Kide, *capreolus*
Tendan	Kynda	Kindle
Up-heah	á Lopti	o Lofft, *aloft*
Neát	Naut	Nowwt, *bos*
Sige	Overhaand	Oferrhannd, *upper hand*
Eax	Palöxi	Bulaxe, *poll-axe*

[1] I give in my list the origin of a few Scottish phrases, and the reason why Yorkshiremen talk of the *gainest* way to a place.

[2] A ship is outward *bound*.

[3] We still have the old sense, 'to dwell long upon a thought.' The sense of *habitare* has not quite driven out the sense of *morari*.

[4] Hence comes our *ungainly*. But the verb '*to gain*' is from the French *gagner*.

[5] *Ster* was the sign of the feminine for hundreds of years after this time, at least in the South; we see a change at work when Orrmin applies the ending *ster* to a man.

Old English.	*Scandinavian.*	*Orrmin.*
Arasian	Reisa	Rezzsenn, *to raise*
Scóp	Skálld	Scald, *minstrel*
Forhtian	Skierra	Skerre, *scare*
Cræftig	Slægr	Sleh, *sly*
Spor	Slódi	Slop, *slot*
Fægr	Smuk[1]	Smikerr, *beautiful*
Þeon	Þrífask	Þrife, *thrive*
Fultume	Uppheldi	Upphald, *an upholding*
Rod	Vöndr	Wand, *rod*
Wansian	Vanta	Wantenn, *carere*
Wyrse	Vaerre	Werre, *waur* in Scotch
Geol	Iól	Yol, *Yule*

We have had a great loss in the Old English words *mid* (cum) and *niman* (capere).[2] These are, with little change, good Sanscrit; and the Germans have been too wise to part with them. Orrmin but seldom employs them, and they must have been now dying out in the North. He is fonder of the two words which have driven them out, i.e. *with* and *take*. Had the banks of Thames been the birthplace of our Standard English, we should have kept all four words alike.

In giving a specimen of Orrmin's verse, I have been careful to take the subject from scenes in Courtly life, where, after his time, numbers of French words must unavoidably have been used by any poet, however much a lover of homespun English. Orrmin's peculiar way of doubling Consonants will be remarked. He clings fast to the Infinitive in *enn*, which had been dropped at

[1] Every one remembers Cowper's 'Sir Smug.' The old Danish word has been sadly degraded.

[2] The last survives in *numb*, and in Corporal *Nym*.

Peterborough; this is one of his few Southern leanings. If we wish to relish his metre, every syllable must be pronounced; thus, *Herode* takes an accent on all three vowels alike.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1200.

ORMULUM, I.—Page 280.

Herode king maȝȝ swiþe[a] wel
  þe laþe[b] gast bitacnenn;
forr all hiss werre and all hiss will
  wass ifell gast full cweme,[c]
and onn himm sellfenn was inoh[d]
  his aȝhenn[e] sinne sene;
for well biforenn þatt he swallt[f]
  wass himm þatt wa[g] bigunnenn
þatt he shall dreȝhenn[h] aȝȝ occ aȝȝ
  inn helle wiþþ þe deofell;
forr he warrþ[i] seoc, and he bigann
  to rotenn bufenn[k] eorþe,
and tohh[l] he tocc wiþþ mete swa
  þatt nan ne mihhte himm fillenn,
and swa he stannc þatt iwhillc[m] mann
  was himm full laþ to nehhȝhenn;[n]
and all himm wærenn fet and þeos[o]
  tobollenn[p] and toblawenn.
þa læchess þatt himm comenn to
  and himm ne mihhtenn hælenn
he sloh, and seȝȝde þatt teȝȝ[q] himm
  ne kepptenn[r] nohht to berrȝhenn.
and he toc iwhillc hæfedd[s] mann
  off all hiss kinerihe,[t]
and let hemm stekenn[u] inn an hus,
  and haldenn swiþe fasste,
and badd tatt mann hemm shollde slæn,
  son summ[x] he shollde deȝenn.

a right
b loathsome
c pleasing to
d enow
e own
f died
g woe
h suffer
i became
k above
l yet
m every
n approach
o thighs
p swollen
q they
r heeded not to protect him
s head
t kingdom
u had them shut
x as soon as

he þohhte þatt mann munnde[y] beon
off hiss dæþ swiþe bliþe,
and wisste þatt mann munnde þa[z]
for hemm full sare wepenn,
and wollde swa þatt all þe follc
þatt time shollde wepenn,
þatt mann himm shollde findenn dæd
þohh itt forr himm ne wære.

[y] would
[z] then

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And afftерr þatt ta wass he dæd
In all hiss miccle sinne.
acc þær wass mikell oferrgarrt[a]
and modiȝnesse[b] shæwedd
abutenn þatt stinnkennde lic[c]
þær itt wass brohht till eorþe;
forr all þe bære[d] wass bileȝȝd
wiþþ bætenn gold and sillferr,
and all itt wass eȝȝwhær[e] bisett
wiþþ deorewurrþe[f] staness,
and all þatt wæde[g] þatt tær wass
uppo þe bære fundenn,
all wass itt off þe bettste pall
þatt aniȝ mann maȝȝ aȝhenn,[h]
and all itt wass wundenn wiþþ gold
and sett wiþþ deore staness,
and all he wass wurrþlike shridd[i]
alls iff he wære o life,
and onn hiss hæfedd wærenn twa
gildene cruness sette,
and himm wass sett inn hiss rihht hannd
an dere kineȝerrde;[k]
and swa mann barr þatt fule[l] lic
till þær he bedenn haffde.[m]
and hise cnihhtess alle imæn[n]
forth ȝedenn[o] wiþþ þe bære,

[a] haughtiness
[b] pride
[c] body
[d] bier
[e] everywhere
[f] precious
[g] apparel
[h] own
[i] honourably clothed
[k] scep
[l] foul
[m] had bidden
[n] together
[o] went

wiþþ heore wæpenn alle bun,[p] p ready
swa summ itt birrþ,[q] wiþþ like. q it befits
and ec þær ȝedenn wiþþ þe lic
full wel fif hunndredd þewwess,[r] r servants
to strawwenn gode gresess[s] þær, s herbs
þatt stunnkenn swiþe swete,
biforenn þatt stinnkennde lic
þær menn itt berenn sholldenn.
and tuss þeȝȝ alle brohtenn himm
wiþþ mikell modiȝnesse
till þær þær[t] he þeȝȝm hafflde seȝȝd t where
þatt teȝȝ himm brinngenn sholldenn.
swillc[u] mann wass þatt Herode king u such
þatt let te chilldre cwellenn,
for þatt he wollde cwellenn Crist
amang hemm, ȝiff he mihhte.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1205.)

(KING LEAR'S ANGER AT CORDELIA'S SPEECH.)

Þe king Leir iwerðe swa blac,
swilch hit a blac cloð weoren.
iwærð his hude and his heowe,
for he was suþe ihærmed,
mid þære wræððe he wes isweved,
þat he feol iswowen;
late þeo he up fuæde,
þat mæiden wes afeared,
þa hit alles up brac,
hit wes vuel þat he spac:
Hærne Cordoille,
ich þe telle wille mine wille;
of mine dohtren þu were me durest,
nu þu eært me alre læðes:

ne scalt þu næver halden
dale of mine lande;
ah mine dohtren
ich wille delen mine riche.
and þu scalt worðen warchen,
and wonien in wansiðe,
for navere ich ne wende
þat þu me woldes þus scanden,
þarfore þu scalt beon dæd ic wene:
fliȝ ut of mine eæh-sene,
þine sustren sculen habben mi kinelond,
and þis me is iqueme;
þe duc of Cornwaile
scal habbe Gornoille,
and þe Scottene king
Regan þat scone;
and ic hem ȝeve all þa winne
þe ich æm *waldinge* over.
and al þe alde king dude
swa he hafvede idemed.[1]

The above lines are taken from Layamon's Brut, compiled, as it would seem, in Worcestershire about the year 1205. The proportion of Teutonic words, now obsolete, to the whole is the same as in the Ormulum. The *ea* becomes *æ* or *a*; thus *earm* (brachium) is written *ærm* and *arm*. The diphthong *æ* is still found here, but hardly appears in English after Layamon's time; this *æ* he sometimes alters into *a* and *e*, for he has not only *bær* (sustulit), but *bar* and *ber*; he has *þænne* (tunc) and also *þane* and *þenne*; there is *færen* as well as *faren*,

[1] Sir F. Madden's *Layamon*, I. 130. Layamon has added much of his own to the original in this story of King Lear; and the additions have been copied by later writers, Shakspeare among them.

lafdies (dominæ) and also *leivedi*. The Old English *Câsere* (Cæsar) now becomes *Kaisere*. The *a* often becomes *o*; *hat* and *hot* both stand for *calidus*, and the words *lond*, *hond*, are written for *land*, *hand*, as in the oldest Worcester Charters printed by Kemble ('Cod. Dip.' I. p. 100). This is also done by our Frisian kinsmen. What Orrmin would have called *o lande*, Layamon calls *a londe*. The Verb *dræf* (pepulit) becomes *draf* and *drof*; the former is used in our Version of the Bible, the latter in our common talk. Our modern *oaδ* is found as well as *æδ* and *aδ*; the first-mentioned form reminds us of the Worcester manuscript quoted at p. 200 of this book. There is *nawit* (nihil) and also *nowit* and *nauyt*; into all three most likely came the sound of the French *ou*. Orrmin's *la* (ecce) becomes *leo* and *lou*. The old *weorc* is replaced by both *werc* and *worc*; this seems to show that both Vowels in the oldest form of the word were sounded; the form *wurckes* also appears. The Perfect of *þyden* (premere) was once *þidde*, but it now becomes *þudde*; hence our *thud*. The *græfess* (nemora) of Orrmin is now seen as *groven*, our *groves*. The interchange between *o* and *u* is going on; Orrmin's *bule* (taurus) appears; there is *mornede* as well as the old *murnede*, *wone* and *wune*; *gol* (bonus) is found written *goud*, just as we now pronounce it. The English counterpart to *volo*, *volui* is seen in many shapes, as *wille*, *wolle*, *wulle*; *walde*, *wolde*, *wulde*; the *ic wulle* still lingers in our Western shires as *I ool*. Our word for the Latin *est* varies as *beδ*, *beoδ*, *biδ*, and *buδ*; and it is much the same with the Vowels in the Perfect of *fall* (cadere). The Plural *hæc* becomes in Layamon *þas*, *þes*,

þeos, þis; we now follow the sound of the last. There are both the old *heowen* and the new *hewen* (secare); both *þeowe* and *þeou* (servus). The supplanting of *u* by *ou*, sounded in the same way, goes on as before; we find *þou, nou*, and *bour*. In *treouwe* (true) there is a combination of the English *ow* and the French *ou*. The latter sound might be expressed by *oi*; we accordingly find *Gloichester* written for Gloucester.

As to Consonants: the old *sc* beginning a word held out against the new *sh* far more stedfastly on the Severn than in Orrmin's country; there are but five exceptions to this rule in Layamon, which are *scheld, scheap, schip, scholde, schenches*. But the *ch* often replaces *c*; we find both *dic* and *dich, swilc* and *such, muccle, muchel, mochul*, and *muche*.[1] There are *brech* and *crucche*; the old *cycene* now becomes *kuchene* (kitchen). The *Frencisc* of former days turns into *Frenchis* and *Frensce* (French); the old form *Frankis* lingered a hundred and forty years longer in the North and East of England. The word *dóhter* is seen as *dochter*; the *h* becomes sometimes ȝ, sometimes *w*; for there are *burh, burȝe*, and *buruwe*, all three; the *g* is clipped or softened, as *peni, penȝes, upbrœid* (upgebrodan), *iteied* (getigod); the *h* disappears in *wat*, written as well as *whæt*; we find *brohte, brouhte, broute* (obtulit). Some little confusion has been the result of all these changes; thus with Layamon *fluwen* (our *flew*)

[1] We have the proper names *Mickle* and *Mitchell* formed from the old *mycel*. By the way, what strange irony furnished the Celtic patriots of 1848 with a leader who boasted the most Teutonic of all names, except perhaps Smith!

replaces the old *flugon* (volaverunt); the likeness to *flowan* (fluere) is rather puzzling, to say nothing of *fleon* (fugere). Letters are sometimes cast out in the middle of a word; *endlufon* is turned into *ællevene*, and *cufle* (cucullus) into *cule* (cowl). We keep the last letter of *loaf*, the old *hlâf*; but Layamon in the Plural turns the *f* into *v*, and writes *lâves*, our *loaves*. There is a great change in the tenses of *leosan* (amittere); in the Perfect *losede* (our *lost*) comes as well as the old *les*; in the Past Participle *ilosed* (our *lost*), comes as well as the old *iloren*. Consonants are sometimes transposed, for we find both *brude* and *burde* (mulier).

In Substantives new Plurals are formed; *hors* (equi) becomes *horses*; the old form of the word lingers in 'horse and foot.' A great change in idiom, when measure is to be specified, now appears; in Old English, age was expressed by the word *wintre* with a cardinal number, as *he wæs twelf wintre*; in St. John ii. 20, *annus* is Englished by *winter*. This is now altered, for we find *he was fiftene ȝer ald*. The Accusative is further used in the phrase *he pleoȝede his plaȝen* (played his play). Instead of the Accusative, we find *ænes an ane tide* (once on a time); here the *ænes* stands for *olim*, as in Orrmin. A few Substantives change their meaning; *pliht* had hitherto meant *periculum*; it now takes the sense of *conditio*, which we keep; *þeau* had hitherto been applied to the mind only; it is now used of the body, as we talk of *thews and sinews*. Spenser used the word in its old sense. Layamon, speaking of a mere, says, 'Feower *noked he is*;' hence our word *nook* (angulus),

which may come from *hnǽgan* (flectere). He uses *top* for *caput*.

He forms an Adjective from the old *hende* (prope). He has indeed, in I. p. 206, *an oðer stret he makede swiðe hendi*; but he usually employs this word in the sense of *courteous*, and in this sense it was used for centuries. Scott's phrase, 'Wallace wight,' is seen in Layamon, who has *iwiht* (fortis). The Old English ending *ol* was being corrupted; for *swicol* now becomes *swicful*, just as rather later *forgitol* was to become *forgetful*. At III. p. 98, we see a spelling-device for marking, as strongly as may be, the difference between two Adjectives; 'wunieð her *hal* and *hæil*,' 'whole and hale;' this of old would have been *gehâl and hâl* (integer et sanus).

In Pronouns: *hit wæs* is used to emphasise a Verb following; *hit wes in ane ȝeol-dæie þat* &c., II. p. 532; *hit is umbe seove ȝere þat þu weren here*, I. p. 214, formerly *þæt* would have been used for this *hit*. One sense of *þæt* is found in I. p. 100; *makian an eorð hus and þat inne swiðe feire stude*; this is like Cicero's 'audientem Cratippum idque Athenis.' In I. p. 136 comes '*seide to his bornen, þat wes þe bisie king*,' we should now alter the construction and say 'busy (eager) king that he was.' We sometimes find in Layamon *þeo* (illi) instead of the Old English *hi*; a token that he did not live very far to the South of the Great Line. The *hwæt* is employed for the old *hu* in *wat heo ihoten weoren* (what they were called), I. p. 2; *whilc* is used as a Relative.

Half is now set before an Adjective; *heo weoren hælf ȝaru* (half-ready), I. p. 369. Layamon was the first to put the Indefinite Article after *many*, as *moni*

anne (many one), *mony enne þing* (many a thing), so also *half an hundred.* A wonderful change occurs in *be eou war,* III. p. 399 ; here the Accusative *eou* is employed for the Nominative *ye.* Our translators of the Bible were far more careful than Layamon in the use of these Pronouns.[1] A form well known in later English comes in I. p. 132, *quene navede he nane,* 'queen had he none.'

The great change in Verbs that we owe to Layamon is the alteration of the Present Participle Active. This, which of old terminated in *ende,* became *inde* in the South about 1100 ; and now, in 1204, it turns into *inge* ; we here find *berninge, fraininge, singinge,* and *waldinge.* A hundred years later this worst of all our corruptions reached Lincolnshire, and was unhappily adopted by the man who shaped our modern speech. The confusion between the Active Participle and the Verbal Noun is endless ; it led to a wholly new English idiom cropping up about 1770. *Lest* (ne) is followed by *should* and *would* with the Infinitive, instead of the old Subjunctive. Orrmin used the old form *wass wurrpenn* (factus est) ; for this Layamon has *þu weore his man bicumen* ; he writes also *Brennes wes awœi iflozen,* I. p. 203. The construction of the old *gewunian* (solere) is altered ; the Auxiliary Verb is added to it, as *þe utlazen weoren iwuned,* II. p. 94. The Passive Voice, as in Orrmin, is further developed ; we light upon *heo wes wel itaht,* I. p. 268, even though *teach* governs the dative of the person ; still more striking is the phrase *þu ært ilete blod,* II. p. 372. This is the first instance of the Accusative following the

[1] They made one slip in Genesis xlv. 8 : 'It was not *you* that sent me.'

Passive, a most English idiom in modern times; as we say, 'I am forbidden meat.' We see the phrase *habben care*, I. p. 16. Our *draw* takes the further sense of *venire*, as well as that of *trahere*, in II. p. 14; *heo wulleð to me dragen*. Our *lay on* (ferire) appears in *stærcliche heom leggèn on*, II. p. 465. The expletive, *ich wene*, is found in I. p. 131. The old *gyrdan* (cingere) gets the further sense of *cædere*; as *he gurde Suard on þat hæfd*, I. p. 68; so Shakspeare has 'he will not spare to gird the Gods,' and we still talk of *girding* at a man. The old noun *gyrd* had borne the meaning of *virga*. *Swogan* had hitherto meant *sonare*; it now got the sense of *swoon*, I. p. 130. Layamon has *mærcoden* in the new sense of *videre*; of old it had expressed *ostendere*: this is just the converse of the change in the old *sceawian*. Our *allot* is first seen in Layamon's *iloten* (destinatum). The Perfect of our *roam* (vagari), a puzzling word, is first seen in his writings as *rameden*, I. p. 335; eighty years later the *a* of this verb became *o* in the Danelagh. A Strong Verb is turned into a Weak one when he says (I. p. 57), *his scipen runden*, where we more correctly say *his ships ran*.

As to Adverbs: *quicliche* changes its meaning and is used for *cito* in I. p. 200, though but once only; it comes three times in the later version of Layamon's poem, drawn up about 1260. There is a new phrase, *at þan laste* (denique), I. p. 160; this seems an imitation of the Old English construction *æt nextan*. *Long* seems to be used as an Adverb in Layamon's new phrases *þene dæi longe* and *alle longe niht*; the *livelong day* was to

come later. The word *half* seems employed as an adverb in his *hit is half mon and half fisc*, I. p. 57. We find *her æfter* for the first time in II. p. 19. We see the combination *weonne so* (when as) in II. p. 206; this lasted until 1670, and *whereas* came up after Layamon's day. We begin to find a distinction made between *so* and *as*; *swa he þer agon ase þe oðer hæfde idon*, I. p. 288. In Old English the idea of difference was expressed by *ungelíce þonne*. Layamon changes this, for he has *al hit iwarð oðer þene heo iwenden* (other than), II. p. 395; Chaucer turns this *other* into *otherwise*. In I. p. 142, we see *no more* used for *no longer*, *heo nolden hem no more feden*; in I. p. 128 *more* is used in a different sense, *heo ne seide na þing seð, no more þenne hure suste*.

Something new appears in *hit likede wel þan kinge buten for ane þinge*, III. p. 264; it is sometimes hard to tell whether *but* stands for *nisi* or for *præter*. There is a pleonasm in the sentence *beden hine heom ræden, oðer ælles* &c., II. p. 82; here either *oðer* (aut) or *else* would have been quite enough.

As to Prepositions: *of* is turned into an Adverb in *of mid here breches* (off with), II. p. 332; the construction of *mid* here is curious, there being no Verb. There is *biswiken of richen* (whence our *cheat of*), and *weri of sorȝen*, *a mon of þriti ȝeren*, *a king of mucle mæhte*; in the older tongue the Genitive was used instead of this *of*. The Latin *de* is Englished by *out of* in *mine gumen ut of Galwæiða*, II. p. 25. The *to*, like the *of*, is sometimes used without a Verb, as *nu heom to*, *nu heom to*, II. p. 468, like Shakspeare's 'to it again!' This *to* begins to supplant the old *oð* (usque ad), as *stiken to þan*

bare lichen his bœrd, II. p. 428; Sydney Smith talked of preaching a Church 'bare to the sexton.' One Old English use of *to* is continued in *iseten to mete*; 'stand to your arms' is a survival of this, though we now, in most cases of this kind, prefer *at*. In notions of time *tôgeanes* in early times was used to express near approach; this is now changed, as in Orrmin, for we read *touward þan sumere*. The old *fôran ongean*, whence comes the Scotch *forneut*, is seen slightly altered at II. p. 353; *sæt forn ȝan him*. The *on* is used as an Adverb in *he hefde brunie on*, I. p. 66. We have dropped the *on* or *a* used by Layamon to mark future time; as, *comeð to dæi a seoven nihte*, I. p. 232. Our threatening phrase, 'on pain of,' is seen at I. p. 218, *uppe wite of feowerti punden*. The *uppe* is clipped and used in a new sense, *stiȝen up þan hulle*, III. p. 32. Layamon follows the Gothic Preposition rather than the Old English *þurh* when he writes *swor bi al hevenliche main*, I. p. 146. This *bi* he uses when repeating a Substantive in an adverbial sense, as *side bi side*. He has also *hond wiþ honde*; the older English used *to* in this sense. It had employed the verb *mêtan*, followed immediately by an Accusative; Layamon alters this into *meet with*. He has *run with blood*, instead of using a simple case. He talks of having weather *mid þan beȝsten*, II. p. 74; whence Prior's line, 'the Colonel toasted with the best.' This *with* or *mid* had expressed *inter* in the Old English.

I give a list of many Scandinavian words used by Layamon, which must have made their way to the Severn from the North and East; we shall find many more in Dorsetshire a few years later.

Club, from the Icelandic *klubba*
Draht (haustus), from the Icelandic *drattr*
Hap (fortune), from the Icelandic *happ*, good luck[1]
Hit, from the Icelandic *hitta*
Hustinge (house court), from the Norse *hus* and *thing*
Raken (rush), from the Swedish *raka*, to riot about[2]
Riven, from the Icelandic *rifa* (rumpere)
Semen (beseem), from the Norse *sama*, to fit
To-dascte (dash out), from the Danish *daske*, to slap

Instead of the Old English word for *insula*, Layamon employs *æiłe* (ait), a word well known to all Etonians. It is the Danish *ey* with the Definite Article tacked on to the end in the usual Scandinavian way; *ey-it*, *eyt*, as Mr. Dasent tells us. Layamon writes *swain* and *swein* (puer), thus following the Vowel sound of the Danish *sveinn*, not that of the Old English *swân*. He has the Danish form *cros* (crux); but the French *croice* was the usual form in Western England. We see the Scandinavian *Whitsuntide* for the first time in English; the term *Pentecost* had been employed in the Saxon Chronicle. There are some other common words, which he is the first English writer to use. Thus he, living near the Severn, has taken *gyves* (catenæ) from the Welsh *gevyn*; and *cutte* (secare) from the Welsh *cwtt*, a little piece: this last has almost driven out the Old English *carve*. He employs *sturte* (started), akin to the Old Dutch *storten*; and has a new Verb *talk*, springing from *tale*. *Bal* (our *ball*), *draf*, and *picchen* (pangere),

[1] Hence *happen*, *happy*, *haply*, came into England and supplanted older words.

[2] Hence the *Rake's Progress*.

are akin to the Dutch or German words *bal, draf, picken*. *Rucken* is found both in Dutch and in Layamon's work; twenty years after his time it appears as *rock* (agitare). He has also *halede* (duxit), the Frisian *halia*; as often happens in English, the word *hale* remains, and by its side stands another form *haul*, which cropped up ninety years after this time; at first, they were most likely pronounced in the same way. Layamon says, '*weoðeleden* his fluhtes,' his flights became weak (I. p. 122): the Verb has a High German brother, and from this may come our verb *wobble*. At I. p. 275, we see for the first time the word *agaste* (terruit), whence comes our *aghast*. For the origin of this word we must go back to the Gothic *usgeisjan*. Our *ghostly* and *ghastly* spring from widely different sources.

Soon after Layamon's time the Legend of St. Margaret seems to have been compiled.[1] It has forms akin to the Worcester manuscript printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, and in other particulars it resembles a well-known Dorsetshire work. Bnt it touches the East Midland in its forms *beon* and *aren* (sunt); and its Participles terminate sometimes in *ende*, sometimes in *inde*. The Past Participle *islein* (page 11) resembles what we saw in the Peterborough Chronicle. There is Layamon's new word *talk*, and his expression *to lay on*. This piece may have been composed or transcribed not far from his county, but nearer to the Great Line; *es*, not *est*, is sometimes the ending of the second Person Singular. The Southern *fur* and the Northern *gast* are found close together. We see here one Vowel-change that has had great influence

[1] Early English Text Society.

upon Standard English; words like *dearc* and *mearc* are written *darck* and *marcke*; there is also *smart*. Hence it comes that we pronounce *Derby* as *Darby* (see Domesday Book), a change that we owe to the North West. Layamon was fond of the Old English diphthong *eo*, but in the present work this is often altered to *ea*, as in the words *clean*, *heal*, *least*. It is to the Southern and Western shires that we owe the preservation of *ea*, a favourite combination of our forefathers; the word *flea* has never changed its spelling. We see in the Legend both the old *swa* and the new *so*; *teeþ* replaces *teþ*; *roa* comes once more. The *wimman* of the East Midland makes way for *wummon*; we now follow the former sound in the Plural and the latter sound in the Singular; a curious instance of the widely different sources of our Standard English. The old *cwæþ* is replaced by our modern *quoth*. There is a struggle between the Old English *œl* and the Latin *oleum*; *eoli* is the upshot. Layamon's *wrœstle* becomes *wrestle*. The old *leosan* is once written *leowse* (p. 13).

As to Consonants: *lagu* becomes *lake*, and Layamon's *gullen* becomes *ȝellen* (clamare); the *e* here seems to point to Salop, where this vowel was used for the Southern *u* and the Northern *i*. On reading at p. 13 *þu fikest* (tu fallis), we may perhaps derive from this verb our *fib*, even as *geleafa* turns to *belief*. We find the old *f* in *feat* (p. 17), and our modern *vet* (vat) p. 18; these are two forms of one word. The *t* is inserted; thus *glisnian* becomes *glistnian*, our *glisten*.

In Adjectives: the ending *ful* was driving out its brethren; we here find *fearful* (pavidus) for the first

time. Orrmin's *gaȝhenn* is seen in a new compound, *ungeinliche* (ungainly). A new phrase like *steorcnaket* (stark naked) crops up; the first syllable probably stands for *steort* (cauda), with the usual interchange of *t* and *c*.

Among the Pronouns we find *hwa so eaver* (quicunque). The Numeral *an* bears new constructions; in p. 8 we read *hire moder wes an þe frourede hire*, 'her mother was one (person) that' &c.; the old turn of the sentence would have been 'one of those that' &c. Our phrase 'it is all one to me' is seen in p. 5, *al me is an*.

As to Verbs: *seem* gets a sense unknown to Orrmin and Layamon, that of *videri*; *his teeð semden of irn* (p. 9). We find a verb formed from *wrence* (dolus), *wrenchen ut of þe weie* (p. 4); our *wrench* now implies brute force, not trickery.[1] In the same page the old *gelamp* (accidit) is cut down to *lomp*; Mrs. Pipchin, in Dickens, says of a thwarted child, 'she must lump it;' this must mean 'take what may *chance*.'

Among the Adverbs we see the first trace of our *downright*, in 'dashed him *adunriht* to the earth' (p. 12); *anonright* and *forthright* have now been swept away. The Adverb *far* is dropped in the phrase *fiftene milen from Antioche* (p. 2).

As to Prepositions: *out of* is employed in a new sense at p. 6, 'he was enraged almost *ut of his iwitte*,' out of his wits. The *of* with a Substantive is employed instead of an Adjective in the same page; *eawles of irne*. The Old English had used phrases like *mid þisum wordum*,

[1] I have seen *wrench* used for *dolus* by Dr. Layton, after the beginning of the English Reformation.

he' &c.; a Pronoun is now substituted for the Noun. At p. 22 we read, '*wiþ þat* they began to yell.'

There are many new words in this short piece; among them are *drupest* (most drooping) and *seemly*, from the Icelandic *drûpa* and *sæmiligr*. In the first syllable of *þwertover* (p. 10) we have followed the Icelandic *þvert* (transversus), rather than the Old English *þweorh* (perversus); our verb *thwert, thwart*, cropped up twenty years later in East Anglia; it was long before *overthwart* made way for *athwart*. There are many words akin to Dutch and German, such as *drivel, gape, stuttfen* (whence our *stutter*), and *shudder*; *toggen* (trahere) seems more akin in form to the Dutch *tocken* than to the Old English *teogan*. The word *schillinde* (sonans), at page 19, akin to both the High German and the Icelandic, tells us whence comes our *shrill*, one of the words into which *r* has found its way. The former *wiþstew* is now seen as *stew* (compescere). The verb *studge* (go haltingly) is found; schoolboys still say 'I was *studged* in my lesson.' *Put* is used for *ponere* (p. 22), as well as for *trudere*. There is a new verb, *diveri*, which is coupled with *to dread*; hence our *dither*.

The Legend of St. Katherine (Abbotsford Club), seems to have been drawn up much about the same time as the foregoing piece. It must have been a translation from the French, if we may judge by the many French idioms; Layamon, though he too was a translator, stuck far more closely to the old idioms. The Legend seems to belong to the neighbourhood of the Great Line, perhaps to Southern Salop; we here see Layamon's *agaste*, and Orrmin's *took on*, *an hwat* (una

res) *sumwhat*, *ter* (ibi), and *dun*; *heo* (illa) becomes *ha*; the Latin *clamas* is Englished by *clepes*, not *clepest*. *Çucurrit* is Englished by the Northern *ron*, not by *arn*. There is a Southern version of this piece, where *buheð* (inclinat) is mistaken for *bueð* (est), and is altered into *beoð*, at p. 20; *wið* into *mid*, *ha* into *heo*. At page 97 we find in one line *buhsume* and *beisume*, meaning the same thing; the one comes from the old *bûgan* (flecti), the other from *bêgean*, another form of the same word; this is a curious instance of two variations of the English synonym for *obediens* running on together for 140 years after the Conquest. The former *âwiht* (aliquid) is now written *ewt*, showing us that *aw* was sounded like the French *ou*. The old *Wodnesdæg* now becomes *Wednesdei*, and *dol* (hebes) becomes *dul*; the *winman* of the East, as we here see, becomes *wumman* in the West and South. The *oa* appears again, replacing the more usual *o*; we find *þoa*.

The old *œmtig* now becomes *empti*, with a *p* inserted; and the Verb *strangian*, taking a Consonant, becomes *strengðen*.

Fault has often been found with the word *metropolis* as applied to London, when *capital* is meant; our true English mother-state is Anglen, far to the East. Still, in this piece (p. 3), we hear of *þe moder burh* (capital) of Alexander's kingdom. In p. 63 *timber* gets the new sense of *materia*, just like the Greek word for *wood* in Aristotle's 'Ethics.' The old Substantive *leof* (vir amatus) is turned into *luve*, our *love*, at p. 82: we have now run *leof* and *lufu*, the person and the thing, into one word. The old *mix* (stercus) is here

used as a term of reproach, and perhaps gave rise to our far less severe word *minx*. At page 90 comes *slec*, whence our *slush* may come, since the old word is here coupled with *sloh*, our *slough*. The word *fode* (cibus) took the further meaning of *alumnus* all through the Western half of England, and is used in that sense in the Legend of St. Katherine. We now see a French word made a Verbal Noun; as *desputing*.

A new Adjective, *rudi* (ruddy), is formed from *rud* (ruber). The ending *ful* was coming more into use, for we find the new compound *pinful*.

In Pronouns: we see the word *self* used (Orrmin had done this), as if it were the Noun *person*; at p. 58 comes *þe ilke self* (the same person) *is Godes sune*; in the Southern copy of the Legend this has been altered into *seolf þe ilke*. A curious new French idiom crops up at p. 110: *wrecche mon þat þu hit art*. At p. 74 comes *he het hise* (he bade his men); here the Noun is dropped after the Pronoun, as was often the case after *mine* and *thine*. In p. 128, the Pronoun stands for a Noun: *bisohte him wiþ þe brond*, that is, 'besought the man who bore the brand.' Something like this may be found in Gothic, but not in Old English.

As to Numerals, the old *oðer* had not yet been supplanted by the French *second*; at page 78, Katherine is promised that she shall be *þe oðer after þe Cwen*; the old *oðer* stood for both *secundus* and *alius*. I have already touched upon our phrase, 'every other man.'

The confusion between Strong and Weak Verbs was going on throughout England; what in the South was *ahongen* (the right form of the Transitive Perfect),

became *hongeden* in the Severn country (p. 18); we even find *arisede* instead of *aras* (arose). At p. 102 we see the old idiom '*me longeð* to go,' where the Verb is Impersonal; this is altogether changed at p. 84, where we find *þe cwen longede for to seon*; but it may be that *cwen* is here a Dative. A Participle replaces a Noun at p. 131; *þu min iweddet* (bride). When we see such a phrase as that in p. 53, *don it buten ewt to leosen* (do it without *losing* aught, the French *sans perdre*), we cannot help thinking that the Infinitive in *en* must have had some slight influence, in forming our new idiom as regards what are seemingly Verbal Nouns in *ing*. The old *dugan* had always meant *prodesse*; it now begins to take the Scandinavian sense of *decere*; in the Northern version we read (p. 99) *as Drihtin deah*; the Verb in the Southern version is altered into *ah* (debet); we still say 'that will *do* very well for him.' A Verb is now seen (p. 89) formed from the old *gleam* (splendor), and another from the old *clatrung*.

Among the Adverbs found in the Legend, *hiderto* is found for the first time at p. 24; *hwen se eaver* at p. 130; *heonne forð wardes* (henceforward) at p. 112. At p. 37 comes *eaverihwer*; this is the old *gehwær* (ubique) with the usual Twelfth Century prefix *ever*; our *every where* is now spelt wrong, for this is one of the few words in which we still sound a corruption of the old *ge*, so beloved of our forefathers. In p. 110 *aðat tenne* (till then) comes, instead of 'till that time.' We have seen that *mid alle* or *wiþ alle* had hitherto meant *wholly*; it now takes the meaning of *moreover*, in which sense we still use it; at p. 99 we hear that Christ came

himself with many maidens *wiδ alle.* A new Adverbial sense (it seems to come from Scandinavia) is bestowed on *up* at p. 47; *cweδe ham up*, 'give them up.' This *up* was soon to follow many other Verbs.

The *swa* or *as* is used in new ways; at p. 3 we read of a tyrant *heaδene as he wes*; at p. 72 *bearninde al as he was*; the French *que* must have been the pattern regarded in forming this new idiom. The *as* is used, where we should put *that*; in p. 86, 'they saw *as* (St. Jerome's *quia*) they smeared;' other English writers have both *who so* and *who that* for *quicunque.* Another French phrase, *par si que*, seems to have brought into England a new conditional idiom, instead of the old *with that*; at p. 102 we read 'let me live, *swa þat* (provided that) I lose nothing.' The whole of the Legend must be a translation from the French, and repays careful study.

As to Prepositions: we find *for hireself*, p. 6, where the *for* is used like the Scandinavian *fyrir mer* and the French *pour moi*, 'so far as I am concerned.' This reminds us of the *wis for worulde*, in the Chronicle of the year 1057. The *upon* is employed in a new sense at p. 53: *þing þat is iwent upon him*, 'a thing that is formed after his likeness;' as we now say 'to form himself upon Brummell.' The *onont* (anent) is used most freely.

There are some new Interjections; *hei* is used at p. 31, a cry of wonder or pleasure; this French cry has taken deep root in England; in Derbyshire I have heard persons (above the lower class) begin their sentences with *hey, but*; in other parts of our land it is sounded like *eh*, Chaucer's *ey*. Orrmin's *la* here

becomes *low*, our *lo*. At page 113 comes *hu nu, dame!* which is something wholly new, and points to the French; to them we owe most of our Interjections.

We find the Scandinavian word *untidi*, here applied to weather; *tidi* is found in East Anglia not much later. The word *scourge* now appears. The French influenced the spelling of the compiler of the St. Katherine; we have seen *eoli* (oleum); this now follows the French, and is written *eoile*, pronounced *e-ool-e*, just as in Scott's 'Pirate' they talk of a whale's *ulyie* or *ulzie*. The word (see Littré) was written *oile* in France until about 1280. Shakspeare writes *unanealed*, following the English form *æl*, but the Verb *anoyle* was written in the year 1588 ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 255). We also find *puison* (venenum). The French *lei*, standing for *religion*, even as it did in France, is used just before the English *lahes*, our *laws* (p. 17). What was written *mannisse* in the Essex Homilies now becomes the Frenchified *mannesse* (humanity) at p. 53. The Verb *earn* of the Northern copy is turned into *ofserven* (deserve) in the South (p. 121). *Me*, the French *mais*, is often used to begin a sentence.

The Legend of St. Juliana (Early English Text Society) is probably due to the same hand as the foregoing Legends. It has Orrmin's words *want* and *huting*; it has Layamon's phrase *no more, through and through*, and his French Interjection *O*; *stew, drivel, out of his wit*, and many such, are repeated. As to Vowels: the *a* is sometimes *aw*, as *Sawmuel* (p. 62); showing us that *aw* might stand for the broad Italian *a* as well as for the French *ou*. *Na* is found, and also our

no; *spearc* becomes *sparke*. Contraction is at work, for *reafode* (rapui) becomes *refde* (reft) at p. 40. The Southern version of this piece alters *fan* (foes) into *van*, and *dry* is written *dru* (p. 33).

The final Consonant *n* is, in this Southern version, altogether pared away; we find (p. 53) *þu havest ido*, not *idon*; this Southern corruption all but rooted itself in our Standard English two hundred years later. We find both *milzful* and *milȝful*, showing Orrmin's new sound of the ȝ; it was to stand for *s* as well as for *y*; owing to it we write *citizen* and *chastise* for the old *citeien* and *chastize*. The earlier *flugon* (fugerunt) is cut down to *flue* at p. 53. The old appeal *beforan Gode* appears as *for Gode* at p. 14, the oath so often used in Shakspeare; this was in use in Gloucestershire about 1300.

We see, at p. 17, the old Adjective *eornost* turned into a Substantive; thou shalt be beaten, *as on ernesse* (by way of *earnest*), the Latin *pignus*. Our word *lust* still kept its true meaning, for at p. 45 it is used of *desire* to pray. We find such new phrases as *top to toe*, *fear neither wind nor weather*, *in his teeth*, p. 36; that is, 'against his own will.'

At p. 70 we see an Adjective coupled with a Participle; water is *wallinde hat* (boiling hot); two pages earlier a Substantive had been used, *walm hat*, as in the oldest English. The Adjective *easy* is used in a new construction at p. 56, *we beon eð to biwihelen* (beguile). We see, in the Pronouns, the old *ich it am*, which was not to last much longer; we were to use the *I am he*. But the French *que* reappears in this piece; at p. 65 (Southern version), stands *þi meiden an þat ich am*.

In Verbs there is the great change seen 250 years earlier in Yorkshire; the Second Person Singular of the Strong Perfect ends in *est* instead of *e*: *þu fundest him treowe* (p. 28); and this comes even in the Southern version. Another corruption of the Verb for *esset* is in p. 50; *hwet te mahte beon*; the Southern version here holds to the better form, *hwet tet were*. At p. 61 a Participle is treated as an Adjective, and takes a Superlative ending; *kempene icorenest*; we now often hear men talk of 'the damdest rogue.' The verb *do*, after long disuse of the idiom, crops up again to save the repetition of a foregoing verb; 'every thing should praise thee, *and ich do*,' (p. 64). The *do* is also once more prefixed to the Imperative; *do sei me*, p. 40. *Biseme*ð *þe* (te decet) is used at p. 55 of the Southern version, where the other has only *seme*ð. The verb *rue* (pity) is no longer used impersonally, but governs an Accusative; at p. 56 comes *areow þe seolven*.

Among the Adverbs we see *hwerfore*, *hwer so ever*, *ase for*ð *as*, (as far as, p. 47). In the Southern version (p. 61) *þear as* is used for the Latin *ubi*; it is the first hint of our *whereas*. In the same page we read *in an weorre as he wes*; here the *as* stands for *ubi*, which in the other version is Englished by *þer*.

At p. 68 we see *ne buten* used in the unusual sense of *vix*; *nefile ha buten iseid þat* &c., 'she had but spoken, when.'

The Prepositions are used in new senses. In Old English, 'to mingle with,' was well known; the idea is now carried a little further, and we read in p. 22, *cuð* (acquainted) *wiðð þe king*. At p. 5 comes, *he wes wel wiðð*

þe king. There is a curious idiom at p. 71; *swiðe wið hire ut of mine ehsihðe*, 'quick with her out of my sight;' we saw something of the kind in Layamon, who also dropped the verb. The *ut of* is used in a new sense, where the mental cause of an action is to be marked; a tyrant began *tendrin ut of teone*, 'to burn, out of annoyance,' p. 29.

The verb *scald*, the Swedish *skolla*, appears in p. 71. There is a new word *bistaþet* (constitutus), akin to the German; eighty years later this was to be written *bestead*. In p. 78 we see the Old and the New face to face; hitherto England had reckoned the days of the month in the Roman way; this was now to be changed; we read *ope sixtenðe dei of Feovereles moneð, þe fortende kalende of Mearch þat cumeð efter*. We remark in the above sentence, that the Danish *n* has made its way into the numeral; it was kept at bay in Gloucestershire even so late as 1300. A curious French word is seen at p. 56, *gencling*, better known to us as *jangling*; the *g* seems to have already assumed its soft sound; in the Southern version this word is exchanged for *ȝuhelunge*.

The treatise on Hali Meidenhad was most likely written by the compiler of the three foregoing Legends. Some of the old words reappear, as *eoile, puisun, wrenche, low* (ecce); there is the same contraction in words, as *þrof* for *þerof, sworn* for *sworen*; the old *sceawian* (ostendere), which had already undergone many changes, becomes *scho* (p. 17), as we still pronounce it. The *c* often becomes *ch*; we see the two forms side by side at p. 35, where the pangs of childbirth are called a *stikinde stiche*; this last substantive has been rather lowered

since those days. The ending of the Plural of the Present is altogether clipped in the verbs *twinni* and *totweane*, p. 13.

The old *hreowlic* (tristis) had been altered into *reowful*; from this we see a new Substantive formed, *reowfulnesse*. We find in the middle of a sentence, *mare harm is*, p. 9; an early instance of a parenthesis. The exchange between *that* and *as* goes on; *hwa þat sehe*, 'whoso sees,' comes at p. 17; *se sikernesse as ha was in*, p. 7; *seiþ ase muchel ase* &c., p. 5, points to the future 'that is as much as to say.' There is also *as well as*. At p. 39 we see *moni an*; the last word stands for the old *man*. At p. 19. is a wonderful innovation; *oðres* is used for the Genitive Plural (*aliorum*). At p. 5 *of lah* stands where we should say *below*; our *by* has often replaced an earlier *of*. Our curious phrase for *omnino* is seen at p. 35, '*leose for gode*.' Our verb *stickle* seems to be foreshadowed by *stikelinde* (steadfastly), at p. 17.

In Verbs: our *show forth* comes for the first time, I think, at p. 3.

As to the Prepositions: there is a new sense for *of* at p. 5; a good maiden is *freo of hireself*, 'has command over herself;' hence comes 'free of the guild,' &c. There is a new form of the Partitive *of* at p. 21, *wile beon of þe lut* (turba); here *one* should come before the Preposition. How the *of* had encroached on the old Genitive form is strikingly shown in *lust of a lute hwile* (p. 47); we should here say 'a little moment's pleasure,' and this last construction would cleave fast to the Old English. Our *face to face* was before the Conquest *of ansine to ansine*; this is pared down in the present

treatise, where it is *nebbe to nebbe*, dropping the first Preposition. There is an imitation of a Latin idiom at p. 21, in the phrase *crune upon crune*; something like this came in the Chronicle. At p. 41 comes *kepan half dale wiδ mon* (keep half measures with).

We find two or three Scandinavian words, such as *cake* and *gealde* (from *geldr*, that is, *sterilis*); there is also *crupel* (cripple), akin to the Dutch. The Old English *ceówan* has the sense of *jaw*, as in Ælfric and in the Homilies of 1180; the maiden is told, in p. 31, that the husband 'chit te and *cheoweδ* þe.' A little lower down, she is further threatened; for he 'beateδ þe and *busteδ* þe;' this last verb is the Icelandic *beysta*, our *baste* (ferire). Hence also the French *baston* or *bâton*. Our *scream* is found for the first time, and seems to be a confusion between the Old English *hream* and the Welsh *ysgarm*, each meaning the same; there is also a Scandinavian *skramsa*.[1]

To this time belong a few pieces printed by Dr. Morris in his 'Old English Homilies' (pp. 183–217; 245–267). They seem to have been compiled in Salop; we find the Northern *aren* (sunt) and *talden* side by side with the Southern *ido* (factum), *wulleδ*, and *libbinde*. The old *mænan* (lugere) becomes *mone* (p. 211), our *moan*, a change which was long in prevailing throughout England; it was useful, since it distinguished this sense of the word from the other sense, *statuere* (our *mean*). We also see *dol* (p. 199) instead of the old *dæl* (pars); we have now different senses for the nouns *dole* and *deal*.

[1] The *s* that has got prefixed to *hream* reminds us of *cwysan*, that has now become *squeeze*.

On reading a sentence like *Godd of alle godd ful* (p. 209), we see what a loss we have had in the disappearance of our accents; in earlier times the accent distinguished *gôda* (bona) from *God* (Deus). *Lah* (humilis) is changed into *lowe* at p. 211; it may have been sounded like the French *ou*, for it is written *louh* in other parts of England. The change of *o* into *u* is seen in the new *bune*, our *boon*; and *schute* for the old *sceotan*.

As to Consonants: the old *burg* becomes *buri*, which is kept in names of places like Shrewsbury; the other old form *burug* is here seen as *buruwe*, whence comes our *burrow*. The verb *eglian* now becomes *eilin*, our *ail*. At p. 263 the old *cwæþ he* is turned into *quod he*; this we have already seen elsewhere.

In Substantives the old declensions had been so completely lost that *eagan* (oculi) is constantly written *ehnen*, as if the old form had been *eaganan*. English was becoming very terse; for we see in p. 205, *ich habbe iheved of oðer monnes*; we should say, 'I have had *part* of other man's *goods*.' The new *rit hond* (p. 217) was taking the place of the old *right half*. At p. 249, the phrase *bi stale* (by stealth) is used, implying *secrecy*, not *robbery*. In the treatise *Sawles Warde* we see *husebonde* bearing the two meanings of *conjux* and *paterfamilias*;[1] it is here opposed sometimes to *wif*, sometimes to *huswif*. At p. 265 we read *in ure ende*, 'in our quarters,' this sense of the old *ende* was soon to vanish, and to be preserved in proper names only, like Audley End.

[1] The latter sense was borne by *housebonde man* in Wickliffe; se St. Luke xii. 39. Tyndale has here, *good man of the house*.

Among Adjectives, *ful* was now supplanting earlier endings, as has been remarked before; we here meet *rueful* and *wilful.* The *es* was being used for the ending of the Genitive Plural, as we saw elsewhere; at p. 189 comes *alle helpleses help.* Orrmin's *lasse* (minor) is seen as *lessere*; our Bible talks of 'the *lesser* light.'[1]

In Pronouns: we see the Accusative used for the Nominative, as we do in 'it's me;' at p. 211 comes *beo ðe world* (dead) *to me and me to þe worlde.* At p. 265 we see that the old Dual is being encroached upon; two persons are addressed, first as *eiðer of ow*, and in the same line comes *incker noðres.* The old *ælc* (quisque) is spun out to *eaver euch an* (p. 263), *an* is steadily replacing *man*; in the same page comes *anes heorte* (alicujus cor); *an* having long stood for *quidam*, now, as in Essex, stands for *aliquis* as well. Another idiom connected with *an* is in page 209; *ich of alle sunfulle am on mest ifuled*, 'of all sinners I am the one most defiled;' fourscore years later was to come, 'I am one the fairest.' There is a new construction at p. 215, *twofold of bittre*; *dæl* as usual, is dropped; we should now say, 'twice as much bitter.'

The same terseness is found in the exclamation, *O þuchel menske to beon moder*, (p. 189) 'O great honour to be mother;' here *is* should come after the first Substantive. There is another ellipse in *Godd, þi milce*, p. 211; where *give me* is not expressed. What was *ahest* (debes) in the Hali Meidenhad is here seen as *owest*;

[1] One critic was very angry with me for using this classic Old English form.

this is the form of the word we use to imply *indebtedness*; while *oughtest* implies *duty*. We have already seen *cnawlece* (confiteor); this becomes at p. 205 *icnoulechie*, acknowledge. The idea of our 'burst with rage' is seen in *liun iburst* (leo iratus), at p. 255.

The old *sone swa* becomes *ase sone ase*, at p. 213. Our *yea* is sometimes impressively used in the middle of a sentence; at p. 265 we read, *mihti to don al, ȝe, makie to cwakien* &c.

In Prepositions: the *of* is still further employed; in p. 209 stands *þe ȝeove* (donum) *of þe holi goste*, that is, 'the Spirit which was given;' at p. 213 comes *gon me betere ut*, 'turn *out* better for me,' *evenire*.

We light on the new word *dingle*, applied to a recess of the sea; and *schimmeð* or *schimereð* (fulget); these are akin to German words.

In Salop forms that were used in Lothian and Yorkshire seem to have clashed with forms employed in Gloucestershire and Dorset; something resembling the *Ormulum* was the upshot. In each succeeding century Salop comes to the front. The Wohunge of ure Lauerd seems to have been written here about 1210, (Morris' 'Old English Homilies,' First Series, p. 269). In 1350, or so, the Romance of William of Palerne was compiled here. In 1420, John Audlay wrote his poems in the same dialect (Percy Society, No. 47). In 1580, Churchyard had not dropped all his old Salopian forms. Baxter, who came from Salop, appeared about 1650 as one of the first heralds of the change that was then passing over Standard English prose, and that was substituting Dryden's style for that of Milton. Soon

after 1700, Farquhar, in his 'Recruiting Officer,' gives us much of the Salopian brogue. This intermingling of Northern and Southern forms in Salop produced something not unlike Standard English; we must always keep the Great Sundering Line in view.

One piece, which seems to belong to this shire is the *Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, which I have already named. We here see Orrmin's *þu was* (eras), *hwat herte, kinsman, uppo*, and *til* (ad); also the Northern *arn* (sunt), *have þai, buhande*, I (ego), *sin* (peccatum), *raise, he makes*; the strangest instance is *þai setis up* (attollunt), page 283, which is a more Northern form than anything we have seen as yet in the Midland. There are also the more Southern forms *þoa* and *huide*. The combination *ui* for the old *y* was long peculiar to the Severn country.

There is much paring of letters, as in *cald* (vocatus), *offeard* (timens). The old *hleahtor* (risus) becomes *lahter*. The old *la* (ecce) at last becomes *lo*, p. 283; we have preferred the *kiss* found in this work to the *cuss* of the South; *hredden* (liberare) becomes *rid*, p. 273, though Scotland still talks of the *redding straik*. Consonants are pared away, especially the guttural at the end of words; we see *gastli, hertili, rewli*. At p. 271, *þu macodest* (fecisti) is replaced by *þu mades*; the same change may be remarked a few years later in East Anglia, at the other end of the Great Line. When we see such a form as *bituhen* (between) we may be pretty sure that the *h* in the middle of a word had lost much of its old guttural sound about 1210; *ahful* was used where we say *awful*.

We find the Substantive *sweting*, which was long confined to the shires near Salop. We see the change in the meaning of *cheap*; it was a Noun meaning *bargain*, as at p. 281, but at p. 273 we read *winnen luve lihtliche cheape*. The Preposition not being employed here, men in time came to look upon *cheap* as an Adverb.

Turning to the Pronouns, we see how the Nominative *hwa* came to be used as a Relative; at p. 275 is *mai he luve hwa ne luves his broðer?* the *hwa* here stands for the old *swa hwa swa* (whoso). At p. 281 comes the idiom often used by Dickens, *as hwa se seie* (as who should say), 'as if a man should say;' the French used *comme qui dirait*. At p. 285 the writer gives an offering, *swuch as hit is*. In p. 281 we light on *swa strang a swing*; in earlier times there would have been no Article here.

Among the Verbs, we may remark that *cuðe* is encroaching on *mihte* (potui); at p. 271 comes *tin blod ne cuðes tu wiðhalde*. In the same page *make* is followed by a Past Participle, just as *have* was in earlier times; *he makes him luved*. The verb *tell* takes the new meaning of 'to have influence upon;' *þi deað telles riht in al my luve*, p. 275. The old *bûh* (inclinavi) becomes the Weak Perfect, *I buhed*, at p. 277.

The forms *hwils* (dum) and *as tah* (quasi), first seen in the Essex neighbourhood, have now made their way to Shropshire, at the other end of the Great Line; *hwils* becomes *hwils þat* (p. 275), in Orrmin's fashion.

In Prepositions: we find *luve of þe* (p. 273), that is, 'love given to thee;' a distinction was wanted to prevent confusion with *þi luve*, that is 'love coming from thee.' At p. 283 comes *lahhen þe to hokere* (laugh thee to scorn).

At p. 281 is *deore cheap hefdes tu on me* (a dear bargain hadst thou *in* me!); the *on* or *in* here is much the same as *anent*, which is used so freely in this piece. The *in* thus employed reappears in our 'I was mistaken in you.'

At p. 287 comes *carpe* (loqui). The former *þweor* (transversus) is seen as *querfaste* (p. 285), whence our *queer*; a word that we still apply to the doings of a poor man that acts in an *odd* way; if the man be rich, his doings become *eccentric*. The Scandinavian *i rattes* (in rags) is in page 277; the original word is *rögg* (villus); this is a good example of the interchange between *t* or *d* and *g*.

A version of the Ancren Riwle (shortly to be described) was compiled in Salop about this time. The interchange between *u* and *o* is plainly seen, when *môr* (palus) becomes *mure*, our *moor*, p. 328. The old *baluhful* (p. 114) was kept in the South, but in Salop it was cut down to *baleful*. In pronouncing *should*, we drop the *l*; this is seen in *schuden* at page 416. The old Genitive Plural *halgana* (sanctorum) is strangely altered at p. 94; the *halezene* of another version becomes here *halehenes*; the Scotch have preserved *hallowéen*, the one Genitive Plural of this kind left in our island.[1] At p. 184 we find *a henginge*, the Verbal Noun struck off from the Verb. The old *slipur* now becomes *slilbri* (slippery). A new Adjective is

[1] I suspect that it has been preserved, from the Scotch mistaking the last syllable for *een, evening*. Some parish churches in England were called *All hollands* (Omnium Sanctorum), and this name may perhaps be still alive.

formed from *leosan*; this is *lowse* (solutus), the sound of which we have kept unaltered; in the Southern version this was written *leste*.

At p. 74, we see three different forms for *labitur*; in Salop it is *slides*, in another county not far off *slideð*, in the South *slit*. Salop preferred *undertoc* (p. 114) to *underfangen*, and the new *overtoken* to *oftoken* (p. 244). At p. 272 a Past Participle is turned into an Adverb by adding *liche*; *masedliche* (stultè). A curious instance of the true Old English alliteration is to be found at p. 334; the *men and wummen and children* of one text is altered into *were and wif and wenchel*. The Scandinavian *ploh*, *gris*, *windoh*, and *uggi* (timere), replace the *suluh*, *pig*, *purl*, and *agrupie* of the South.[1] Salop has the new *scratteð* (scratcheth), where the other version has *schrepeð*; here is the interchange between *t* and *p*. In this copy there are many French terms, such as *auter* (altar), brought in, where the other copies had Teutonic words.

We now come to the Ancren Riwle (Camden Society), as compiled in the Dorset Dialect, about 1220. We can see that this is the original version by a sentence at p. 76, ȝe *þat pleieð* (luditis), an idea which well suits the context. In one copy of the piece, this Verb has been altered into the French *pleideð*; in the Salopian copy into the English synonym for *pleid*, *moten*; in either case the sense of the passage has been mistaken. Reference is made in the Ancren Riwle to the earlier Legend of St. Margaret; but the *o* has made further encroachments on the *a*, as *two*, *whoso*, *no*, *lone* for *læn*,

[1] From this Salopian *gris* (porcus) comes our *griskin*.

(commodatum), *oten* (oats), *cloð*, *sope*, *liflode*. The combination *ea* is much in use; *læne* (macer) becomes *leane*; *hlaheð* (ridet) turns into *lauhweð*, the vowels of which we still keep; it is like the name *Staunton*. Here there can be no doubt that *au* stands for the sound of the Italian *a*. The sounds of *o* and *u* interchange, for *wogan* becomes *wowen*, our *woo*; *inoh* (satis) and *sloh* become *inouh* and *slouh* (slew); the changed sound of the *o* was kept at bay for long in the Eastern shires. *Ou* is here often written for the old *u*. The *gest* (vadis) of this version was altered into *gas* in Salop, and into the longer-lived *gost* in some county still further to the South East. The *eo* becomes *i*; *feol* and *seocnes* are now seen as *file* and *sicness*; it sometimes becomes *e*, for *herd* (pecus) replaces *heord*. Indeed, in the lexicons, *heord*, *herd*, and *hord* are put down under the same head, as varying forms of one Old English word; *herd* in the present work is set apart for *pecus*, while *hord* had long before been appropriated to *thesaurus*. Much in the same way *feoh* had stood for *pecus* (the kindred word), *præmium*, and *divitiæ*, all three. *Led* and *spred* are found here, and not the *lad* and *sprad* of more Northern shires. The old *awel* (subula) becomes *aul*; it was written both *owel* and *ewel* rather later in Dorset. The *swelgan* of old now becomes *swoluwe* (swallow); the insertion of the Vowel between *l* and *w* is curious. The letter *n* is altogether cast out, when *nemde* (named) replaces the old *nemnede*. The *t* is added to the old *grunan*, which becomes *grunten*. The hard *g* is often softened; *bælg* (venter) becomes *beli*; *stige* (hara) becomes *sti*; *hien* and *weien* are in the same

case. This *g* is often changed into a *w*; as *sawe* (dictum) for *sagu*, *volewen* (sequi) for *folgian*, *ȝuweðe* for *geoguð*, *uuwenunge* for *fœgnung*. This last is a good instance how the change of a Consonant can mark off a difference in the sense of a word; the harmless *fain* and the base *fawn* are both corruptions of the same word, the old *fœgnian*, which had the two senses *gaudere* and *blandiri*. In one sentence, in p. 348, we see the two forms *scotten* and *schotten* (solvere); townsmen pay *scot*, sailors have a *shot* in the locker. The French *c* is employed for *s*, as in *kusce* (osculum); also *milce* (misericordia). The *l* sometimes makes its way into a word; *mengeð* (miscet) now becomes *mongleð*; on the other hand, *bœlg* is turned into *bag*. A usage of Orrmin's reappears; the *s* now ends, not only the Genitive Singular, but the Genitive Plural; thus in page 106 we read of 'her tears, *and te oðre Maries*.' The last word is Plural.

We hear of St. *Jame* in p. 10; hence comes our *Jem*. At p. 412, we read, *of hum is lutel strencðe*; eighty years later, this was to be 'of them is little force;' one hundred years later still, *force* would become *matter*. We read in p. 418 of a parish officer who looked after hedges; he is here called the *heiward*, and the proper name Hayward still lingers among us. Among the Adjectives appears *untowen* (untrained), which was afterwards to become *wanton*, the *un* and the *wan* having the same meaning. The ending *ful* was coming in; we here find *pinful* (painful) and *dredful*; earlier endings were disappearing; thus the *þorniht* of old was changed into *þorni*. In *ston-stille* (p. 414) we have a Substantive prefixed to give strength to an Adjective. The French

seems to have given us *mi deore* (ma chère), p. 98, where the Adjective stands alone. At p. 258 we read, *his earlich ariste*; here *early* for the first time becomes an Adjective; it had hitherto been only an Adverb. In p. 176 we find a wholly new idiom, which must have come from France, replacing the old English Superlative, *þe meste dredful secnesse of alle.* This new form became very common in the following Century.

In Pronouns: Orrmin's *hwat*, standing for the Latin Relative *quod*, is laid aside in favour of *hwuche*, the word that we still use for the Neuter Relative; at p. 354 comes *þeawes, bi hwuche me climbeð to þe blisse.* This was to be found thirty years later in Yorkshire as well as in Dorset. Yet this *hwuche* is almost always employed in the present work to stand for the kindred Latin *qualis*; this old sense lasted in the West down to 1400. We find *ancren hwas blisse* (p. 348); this translation of *quarum* would have astonished an earlier generation. The *ân* (one) is seen, as before, standing for *sum man, aliquis*; *ter on geð* (p. 252), 'where a man goes.' We now say 'your enemy,' but not 'your traitor;' this last is found at p. 194.

Orrmin's new idiom of Verbs is repeated in p. 344; we hear of sins *of grucchunge, . . . of sitten to longe*; this last Infinitive is used as a Verbal Noun, something like the Infinitive with the Article in Greek. At p. 360 we see side by side the old Imperative and the later one formed with *let*; *let ôðre atiffen . . . abide we.*[1] Here the

[1] We still sometimes use the older form: 'Come weal, come woe, we'll gather and go.' 'Be Thine the glory, and be mine the shame.' How much more pith is there in these Imperatives than in the cumbrous compound with *let*!

writer does not use the Plural *leteð* (sinite) in addressing his Anchoresses. The Participle is yoked, like an Adjective, to a Substantive; we hear of the *vallinde vuel* (falling sickness); hence come our *writing materials*, and many such flexible forms. A pithy phrase was once applied to our two last Stuart Kings: it was said of Charles that he 'could if he would;' of James, that 'he would if he could.' On looking to the Ancren Riwle, p. 338, we read *he ne mei hwon he wule, þe nolde hwule þet he muhte.* This seems to have been a byword well known in 1220. The Transitive Verb *stop* is found in p. 72. In p. 106 is the phrase *bring to nouht*, and also *beren him veolauredden* (company). At page 210 we hear of jugglers who are said to *makien cheres* (make faces).

We find new Adverbs cropping up, such as *et enes* (at once), *enes a wike, hu se ever, hwerse ever, sumetime, so muche þe raðer, bivorenhond* (beforehand), *neverthelesse; of feor* was later to be written *afar*; *eallunga* was replaced by *utterliche*, which now took a new sense. The *al beo* (our *albeit*) is remarkable; something of the same kind occurs in Middle High German; the *al* prefixed shows the completeness of the concession made. In p. 288 we see a mistake, repeated six hundred years later by Lord Macaulay in his Lays; what should be written *iwis* (certè) is turned into a Verb, *I wis*. Our *squint* is found for the first time in the Adverb *asquint*, p. 212. There is *vuele inouh*, very bad; *inouh reðe*, very readily (page 86). A new Adverb, *greatly*, crops up by the side of *much*; see p. 426. *Nout* (non) is sometimes used for the old *ne*. *Hwar ase* is in p. 200, translating *ubicunque*.

We now say 'as narrowly as ever she can,' instead of the *ase neruhliche ase heo ever mei* (p. 414). The word *sona* (mox) has new offspring, *sonre* and *sonest*.

An attempt is made to bring into vogue a new form, to do duty for a Preposition; at p. 260 comes '*ine stude of* in, his cradel herbarued him;' his cradle supplied the lack of an inn; *in his stead* had been used before, but only referring to a person, not to a thing. The *for*, which would have been used earlier all over England, Englishes the kindred Latin *per* at p. 300; for this the other versions of the Ancren Riwle use *wiþ* and *purch*. In p. 110 we mark how the old *onefne* came to be changed; in the Salopian copy it is found as *onevent*. in the Dorset copy as *onont*, not far from our *anent*. In the same page we see how the old Preposition *ȝeond* (per) was dropping out of use; it was still employed in Dorset, but was replaced in one shire by *over*, in another by *in*. At p. 426 we find our common expression, *þet fur* (ignis) *go ut*. The *of* was encroaching; in p. 106 we find the old *vor his luve* and the new *vor þe luve of him*.

The old *bac-slitor* now becomes *backbiter*; there are also *cheffare* (chaffer), *overturn*, *withdraw*, *withhold*. A new Substantive is formed from *treow*; this is *triws*, our truce. Our *Ember days*, the Scandinavian *Imbrudagar*, appear for the first time in the guise of *umbridei*; this and *umquhile* are the sole survivors in English of the many words formed from our lost preposition *umbe*, the Greek *amphi*; the old *umstroke* (circumference) lasted down to 1660. At page 46 comes *gluffen* (to blunder), from the Icelandic *glop* (incuria); hence perhaps 'to *club* a regiment.' *Sorh* (dolor) had taken

the shape of *seoruwe* in Dorset, but it remained *sorhe* in Salop (see page 64). The old *rœcende* becomes *ringinde* (page 140), whence our *ranging*.[1] In page 128, we are told that a false nun 'chefleð of idel;' hence have arisen to *chatter* and to *chaff*. *Torple* (cadere) seems to be formed from *top* (caput); hence comes our *topple*.

The East Midland dialect was pushing its conquests into the South, for many Scandinavian words are found for the first time in this work; as

Chough	Kofa, Icelandic
Crop, *carpere*	Kroppa, Icelandic
Dog	Doggr, Icelandic
Dusk	Dulsk, Danish
Flask (*flash*)	Flaksa, Swedish, *volitare*
Groom	Gromr, Icelandic
Mased, *delirus*	Masa, Old Norse, *to chatter confusedly*
Muwlen, *grow mouldy*	Mygla, Icelandic
Shy	Skygg, Swedish
Scowl	Skule, Danish
Skull	Skal, Danish
Scraggy	Skrekka, Norse
Sluggish	Slœki, Norse
Smoulder	Smul, Danish, *pulvis*
Witnen	Vitna, Icelandic, *testari*

Many an Old English word has been driven out by these Scandinavian strangers. Moreover, I add a list of many words, which Southern England had in common with our Dutch and Low German kinsmen. England seems now to have rid herself of her old prejudice

[1] So in the Latin, *jungo* is formed from *jugo*, and *lingo* from *lico*.

against beginning words with the letter *p* we were rather later to turn the Scandinavian *broddr* (aculeus) into *prod.*

Bounce, *punch*	Bonzen	Puff	Poffen
Brink	Brink	Pick	Picken, *to use a sharp tool*
Cackle	Kakelen		
Cleppe, *clapper*	Klappe	Pack	Pack
Costnede, *cost*	Kosten	Scrape	Schrapen
Cur[1]	Korre	Snatch	Snacken
Giggle	Giggen	Spat, *macula*	Spat
Hag	Hacke	Squint	Squinte
Hurl	Horrelen	Toot	Toeten, *blow a horn*
Pig	Bigge		
Pot	Pot	Tattle	Tatelu

We find also in this work *harlot*, a vagabond, from the Welsh *herlawd*, a youth; the word is used by Chaucer without any bad sense; Shakspeare has 'harlotry players.' From the same Celtic source come *cudgel* and *griddle*, now first seen in English; also *baban*, our *babe*. *Peddare*, a pedlar, is also found for the first time; Forby derives it from *ped*, which in Norfolk is a covered pannier.[2] There are many words in the Ancren Riwle, which, as Wedgwood thinks, are formed from the sound; such as *gewgaw*, *chatter*. The adjective in Shakspeare's 'little *cwifer* fellow' is found in the Ancren Riwle; it seems to come from the old *cáf* (impiger). In p. 106 comes the new verb *blindfellen*, which we have corrupted into *blindfold*.

[1] This, as now, might express a poltroon.

[2] The ending *are* proves that we ought to write, not *pedler*, but *pedlar*; the word is sometimes given as a puzzle in spelling.

The Third version of the Ancren Riwle may have been drawn up in Warwickshire; at any rate, it cannot have been done far to the South of the Great Line. The *clokes* of Salop become the more Southern *cleches* (clutches), p. 174. There is a great clipping of Consonants in *halpenes* and *peni* (p. 96). The ending *er* was coming into vogue; the old *ærendraca* became *erinde-bere* in Dorset, and *erende beorere* in the present version; we also find the new word *luffer* (amator). For *talis* the Pronoun *þullich* was used (p. 44); *þilke* was coming in to express *iste*, *þilke fuȝeles* is used at p. 14, where the Dorset version has *þeo ilke fuveles*. In p. 68 this leads to a mistake; the Dorset version has *iðen ilke huse*, *oðer per* &c. (in eâdem domo aut ubi), but the present version has *in þilke hus þer* (in istâ domo ubi). This *þilke*, used instead of Orrmin's *þat*, soon spread into Gloucestershire, where in 1300 it is found as *þulke*.[1] At p. 26 we see the first instance of *al oðer sum*, the source of Dryden's forcible *all and some*; the *sum* stands for *one*, 'one and all.' At p. 222 we find our *flatter* for the first time, the Scandinavian *flaðra*; in Salop the word was not understood, for it is changed into *falter*, making nonsense; in Dorset it is *flaker*.

In a Southern Creed of this time ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 282) *wambe* becomes *wumbe*; we still sound this *u* in the old way, though we write it *womb*; *iche* here stands for what was elsewhere written *eche* (quis-

[1] In this shire *thulk*, or *thuck*, seems to have been used for *iste*, while *thilk* or *thick* changed its meaning to express *hic*. A Gloucestershire witness has been heard to say 'it was not *thick un* as hit *thuck un*, but *thuck un* as hit *thick un*.'

que); we still keep this old sound of the *i* in pronouncing *each.*

We have now beheld the changes wrought by 100 years; the most weighty may be seen in the three short words, *much ship-owning*, for *mycel, scip, agen*; here the old sounds *y, c, sc, a,* and *g* have been all altered.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH.—NEGLECT.

1220–1280.

Up to this time, 1220, English had been fairly well cultivated; it was now to be thrown aside by the enlightened English public, as something altogether inferior to French or Latin. The disastrous period that we are now about to consider is illustrated by very few English writers; things were very different before 1220, and were, moreover, to be very different after 1280. Anyone, who reads with due heed the specimens given in this chapter, will see that the obsolete terms by degrees become fewer in number; in other words, much old Teutonic is being swept away. We begin, as before, with

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1230.)

I first call attention to a poem—The Bestiary—that is printed in Dr Morris's Old English Miscellany (Early English Text Society). This poem is very nearly the same in its dialect as the Genesis and Exodus (Early English Text Society), a piece which Dr. Morris refers to Suffolk. The common marks of the East Midland

speech are found in both: the Present Participle ends in *ande* in the one case, in both *ande* and *ende* in the other; the Plural of the Present tense ends in *en*, or is dropped altogether, as *have* instead of *haven*; the Prefix to the Past Participle comes most seldom. The Northern Prepositions *fra* and *til* are found. The Bestiary bears some resemblance to the Proverbs of Alfred; it is a translation made much about the time that King Henry the Third was beginning to play the part of Rehoboam in England, having got rid of his wise counsellors.[1]

Here we find the Old English *sinden* (sunt) for almost the last time; on the other hand, what Orrmin wrote *all ane* (solus) has now become *olon*; we also see *ones* (formerly *œnes*), the Latin *semel*. The Southern *o* had long driven out the old Northern *a* in these Eastern shires. We find Orrmin's substitution of *o* for *on* always recurring here, as *o live*. But what he calls *bracc* (fregit) is seen in the present poem as *broke*; our version of the Scriptures has adopted the former, our common speech the latter. We also find *ut* turned into *out*; we saw something of the kind in the Proverbs of Alfred. *Fugelas* is pared down to *fules* (fowls). The old *splot* (which meant both *macula* and *locus*) here loses its *l*, though we still talk of a *splotch*. The Bestiary refers to

[1] Now we have for the first time a new English metre, with the alternate lines riming:—

'His muð is get wel unkuð
wið pater noster and crede;
fare he norð, er fare he suð,
leren he sal his nede;
bidden bone to Gode,
and tus his muð rigten,
tilen him so ðe sowles fode,
ðurg grace off ure drigtin.'

the Panther's *spottes*; the Genesis and Exodus calls the Red Sea (p. 93) a *salte spot*. The poet prefers *birden* (onus) to *byrðen*. At page 14 of The Bestiary a Verbal Noun is formed from the word *fox*; the Devil *doð a foxing* (dolus). This formation of Verbal Nouns was soon to become very common in the Dano-Anglian shires. A confusion was now arising between the endings of Adjectives and those of Adverbs; we have long found it awkward to write *godlily*, formed from *godly*; the East Anglian writers kept the old Adjective *reuli* (mæstus), but formed the new Adverb *reufulike*, p. 21; the *ful* was rapidly spreading through England. In p. 18 the Adjective *mirie* (merry) is used as an Adverb; *mirie ge singeð*. At p. 18 we find *on lengðe it sal him rewen*; the first two words stand for *in the end*; we see how we came to English *tandem* by *at length*. In p. 13 *husebond* takes a third sense besides those of *conjux* and *paterfamilias*; it now means *colonus*, whence comes our *husbandman*, which was expressed in the oldest English by *bonda*.[1] The old *teorian* (deficere) becomes *tirgen* at p. 12, where an elephant is said to *tire*. We find here for the first time *borlic* (burly) applied to elephants; it is akin to the High German *purlih*. The word *cliver* (clever) is applied to the Devil. Mr. Wedgwood says it comes from *claw*; hence it in this passage has the sense of *nimble-fingered*, much as *rapidus* comes from *rapio*. The Adjective *fine*, the Icelandic *finn*, is seen here for the first time. The word *snute* (snout),

[1] Lever, more than three hundred years later, used *husband* for *colonus*.

used of the elephant, is akin to a German word; as also is *hoven* (manere), p. 16. The old English *ceafl* is now found in the shape of *chauel* (in the account of the whale): it is not far from our *jowl*. The Second Person Singular of the Perfect of the Strong Verb undergoes the change already marked in the Lindisfarne Gospels. What in Old English was *þu hehte*, is turned at page 6 into *tu higtest* (pollicitus es).

In an East Anglian Creed of this time ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 234), we find *ure onelic loverd*, written where Orrmin would have used the old *anlepiȝ* (unicus) for the second word. Thus a new form drove out an older one. However, in the oldest English we find the Adverb *ânlice* used for *solum*.

In the Version of Genesis and Exodus, there is an interchange between *a* and *e*; we find both *fer* and *far*, *hali* and *heli*. Orrmin's *maȝdenhad* becomes *maidenhed*. *A* replaces *æ*; *slæht* and *stærf* become *slaght* and *starf*. The *ea* turns into *ei*, for we find *eilond* (insula); *æt* (manducavit) becomes *at* (p. 97). The *i* is clearly opposed to the Southern *u*; we meet *kiss*, *unkinde*, and *pride*; the Icelandic *systir* (soror), here written *sister*, (p. 109), is preferred to the Southern *suster*; the Old English had the form *sweostor*. The *i* kept its own sound, when coupled with *a*, in *Sinai*, for this is made to rime with *bi* (p. 96); *fir* (ignis) becomes *fier*; the *ie* was here no longer pronounced like the French *é*, for we meet with both *driye* and *drie* (aridus). We find both *ðis* and *ðese* for the Latin Plural *hi*; we now pronounce the word in the former way, and write it in the latter way. The old *yldeste* now becomes *eldest*; and

titt (mamma) becomes *tette*, our *teat*. On the other hand, *teoðe* (decimus) is seen as *tigðe*; hence our *tithe*. The poet is fond of doubling his vowels, as in *mood* and *feet*. The combination *oa* appears, but the latter vowel was sounded, for at p. 117 *ðoa* is made to rime with *Fasga*; much as *Esau* rimes with *ru* (p. 44). The *o*, creeping up from the South, often replaced *a*; we find *almost*, *froward*, *hol*, *wroð*, *loð*, *bond*, *solde*, and *sori*; there is even *sowen* (viderunt), at p. 88. The *goven* (dederunt), not *gaven*, suggests the 'he guv,' so well known to us. The old *mænan* (queri), still written *mene* in other shires, became *mone* in East Anglia; *wæron* (erant) was written *wore*, which is still alive in some parts; and *ær* (ante) makes room for *or*, p. 47, which is kept in our Bible; *or ever* &c. But the *o* had often to give place to *u*; we see *wulde* for *wolde* (voluit), *muste* for *moste*, *slug* for *sloh*, *ynug* for *genoh*. Both *word* and *wurd* stand for *verbum*. *Nu* is once seen as *nou*, and *tun* as *town*. There is a tendency to contract words by throwing out vowels; as *hid*, *filt*, *set*, *fed*.

This clipping is equally apparent in the Consonants: great havoc is made with the letter *f*; *had* comes as well as *haved*; there is *hað*, and Orrmin's *þu hafst* now becomes *þu as* (p. 51); *sulde a sen* is written for *should have seen* at p. 78. The word *evermore* is found as *ermore* at p. 9, whence comes our poetical contraction *e'er* for *ever*. *Lord* sometimes replaces Orrmin's *laferd*, and *leman* stands for *leofman*. Other letters are thrown out; we find *forbi*, *or*, and *be we*; at p. 71 we see both the old *birigeles* (sepulchrum) and the new *biriele*, our *burial*; *hagol* (grando) becomes *hail*. On the other hand,

we are struck by the poet's sturdy cleaving to the Old English gutturals *g* and *k* at the beginning of words. So, in the Bestiary, we find *gevenlike*, where the writer has gone out of his way to prefix a *g* before what was *efen* in English, *iafn* in Scandinavian. It is East Anglia that has kept these hard letters alive. But for these shires, whose spelling Caxton happily followed, we should now be writing to *yive* (donare), to *yet* (adipisci), *ayain* (iterum), and *yate* (porta).[1] We have unluckily followed Orrmin's corruption in *yield*, *yelp*, *yearn*, and *young*. These East Anglians talked of a *dyke* (fossa), when all Southern England spoke of a *ditch*. Orrmin's *druhhpe* is now turned into *drugte* (drought), which we have followed. The most remarkable change is *deigen* (mori), instead of *deye*. There is also the Peterborough *gede* (ivit), *frigt*, *nigenti*, *wrogt*, and, still more wonderful, *preige* (p. 114) for *præda*. But even into Suffolk the Southern *w* was forcing its way. We find *owen* (proprius) as well as *ogen*, and *folwen* (sequi) as well as *folgen*. Owing to the changes of letters in different shires, we sometimes have two words where our forefathers had but one, each word with its own shade of meaning. 'To *drag* a man out' is different from the phrase 'to *draw* a man out:' the hard North is here opposed to the softer South. Moreover, we may speak of a *dray* horse. Our Standard English is much the richer from having sprung up in

[1] Our proper name *Yeatman* (ostiarius) cannot have arisen in East Anglia. It is curious that some people say *ingun* and *bagonet*, instead of *onion* and *bayonet*, putting in a letter hard to pronounce. Meg Merrilies says, 'Sair I *prigged* and *prayed*.'

shires widely apart. As if the foregoing variations of *drag* were not enough, we have borrowed the kindred *trig-ger* from Germany.

Some of the other consonants were undergoing change. The *feiδ* (fides) found here, represents the Old French *feid*, which was early lost in France (about the Eleventh Century); *fei* was the commoner form, especially in the oath *par ma fay*. The contrary change takes place when *cuδe* (potuit) becomes *cude*, which we unluckily no longer spell aright; the same change takes place in *burden* and *twentide*; *þeofδ* (furtum) turns into *δefte*; both *þýfδ* and *þýft* existed in Scandinavia. The Peterborough *scæ* (illa) now becomes *sche* or *she*; *cwen* is turned into *quen*. This *qu* was favoured in East Anglia as much as in Scotland; *quow* replaces *hu*, and the former lasted two hundred years, as we see by the Paston Letters. The *h* at the end of a word is clipped; Orrmin's *fe* is repeated, our *fee*; *ruh*, our *rough*, is seen as *ru* at p. 44; this clipping of the final guttural went on all over the South. The *c* is thrown out, for *macod* (factus) becomes *made*, as in Salop; *scal* turns into *sal*, as in Scotland; this is just the reverse of the old *seo* turning into *scæ* (she) about 1160. The former *gesamnian* (congregare) becomes *semelen* (p. 110); here the kindred French word must have had some influence. The *turtre* of the Bestiary is changed into *turtul* (p. 27) in the present work; the Scandinavian had the two forms *turturi* and *turtildúfa*. The *r* is added to a word; *hunter* (the Scandinavian *hundtér*) and *tilier* (p. 43) replace the old *hunta* and *tilia*. The *n* is clipped at the end of a Participle, as *do* for *don* (factum); this is found in the Paston Letters.

This letter is sometimes added, for *oft* becomes *often* (p. 109) and *almihti* becomes *almihtin*, a change which for a time spread all over the North; the *n* is inserted, for *daigening* replaces *dagung*; it is replaced by *m*, for *seldon* becomes *seldum* (seldom). The *t* is added, for *ðwyrian* (adversari) is found as *ðwert* (p. 38); the ð is added, for *stalu* (furtum) becomes *staldðe*. The insertion of *d* after *n* in the middle of a word is curious; this is done for the sake of ease; *ðunor* becomes *ðunder*, and what was elsewhere written *cunrede* is here written *kindred*; *alre* (omnium) gives place to *aldre* (p. 10); this form lasted to 1600. On the other hand, *d* is sometimes dropped; we find *gol prenes* (golden pins). The connexion between *p* and *t* is very plain, when *podes* is written for *toads* at p. 85; hence the Scotch *puddock*. *Milk* becomes *milche* at p. 79, the source of our *milch cows*; *wreche* and *wrake*, two forms of the same word, are found in line 552.

As to Substantives: Orrmin's sense of *world* was coming in; we find at p. 4, *middel werld* used for the old *middan eard*. The Latin *causa* used to be Englished by *þing*, which lasted down to 1340; but *sake* is now enlarging its meaning; at p. 106 we find *for is sake*. We know our common *on the spot* for *protenus*; at p. 94, Moses throws a tree into the bitter water, which becomes sweet *on ðe stede*. At p. 10, in *so manie times*, we see a substitute for *so often*; at p. 88 comes *bisek God, ðis one siðe* (time); at p. 30 is 'I shall come *ðis time oðer ger*;' that is, 'this time in the second year,' 'a year hence.' The Accusative replaces the old Genitive in *on ger sep* (p. 89) 'a sheep of one year.' The same case

becomes prominent in *his name wurð a lettre mor* (p. 29), which would have been written formerly 'it became more (longer) by a letter.' At p. 73 we see the source of our 'go full speed,' where we drop a preposition; it is said that the Hebrews *waxen michil sped.* The confusion between Dative and Accusative is very plain in *to fechen Ysaac hom a wif* (p. 39). At p. 43 we read of rights, *ðe queðen ben ðe firme sunes* (which are promised the first-born sons). The English was becoming more and more terse, as we see in this piece. A new Substantive is formed in p. 62; *bi gure bering* (your carriage) *men mai it sen.* Another is formed from the word *ridan* at p. 112, *wente he his ride*, the Scandinavian *reið.*

In compounding Adjectives, the *ful* of the South was employed, as *dredful* and *frigtful*, the latter for the first time; the *lic*, cut down to *li*, was also in favour, as *reuli*; in *uglike* (p. 80), the Scandinavian *uggligr*, the full English form is kept. The *en* of the Adjective is clipped, when we read of a *gold pot* at p. 95. There is a curious instance of the Accusative of the Adjective being kept alive by its constant use in common speech; he bade *hem godun dai*, 'bade them good day' (p. 41). We laugh at our modern phrase *awfully jolly*, but something like it may be seen at p. 38; Abraham, when prevented from slaying his son, becomes *frigti fagen*, 'frightfully fain, joyful.' In p. 25 we see *gret folc* (multi); here *gret* replaces *mycel*; we now talk of 'a great number,' but 'much people' is obsolete.

Among the Pronouns we find *ðei* (illi), which had crept down from the North; it comes but once: *ic* once or twice gives place to *I.* The Latin *tu* is twice Eng-

lished by *ge*, used in addressing a superior, at pp. 64, 65; Jacob's children refuse to obey him and go to Egypt, '*but ge* (nisi tu) *wiþ us senden Beniamin*;' they afterwards tell Joseph's steward, *gur silver is gu brogt agon.* This suggests the French *vous*, used for the Latin *tu*; this East Anglian usage (see the Proverbs of Alfred) was the harbinger of a great change in our common speech. What Orrmin called *þatt an* and *þatt oþer* is seen here in a new guise.

Two likenesses . . . he
Gaf hire *ðe ton*.—Page 77.

Þis *on* wulde don *ðe toðer* wrong.—Page 78.

At p. 67 comes *quat-so-evere*; at p. 60 *quilke* is used, as in the Ancren Riwle, for the Neuter Relative. The *al* is much employed in strengthening phrases, as *al ðe bettre*, p. 66.

The great change in Numerals is that *score* is used for *twenty*; it comes from the old habit of *shearing* or *scoring* notches on wood up to twenty. The Celts, Danes, and French counted something in this style, which was now first used in English. In p. 91 we read—

'Gon woren VII score ger.'

At p. 97, the Numeral *thousand* is used as if it were a Noun; *ilc ðusent adde a meister wold.* A new idiom is in p. 44; *an hundred so mikel wex hiš tile*; of old the first four words would have been expressed thus, *by hundred fold.*

As to Verbs, we find an old idiom revived after a long sleep; *ðe folc reste dede* (p. 57); here *did rest* stands for *rested*; seventy years later this usage of *do* and *did* became very common. In the Old English we find

sentences like 'wished him (to) be named;' this use of the Infinitive Passive is now coupled with the Verb *bid*; at p. 74 Pharaoh's daughter *bàd it ben brogt*. The Past Participle had always been used with an Accusative after Transitive Verbs, like *see*; this usage now began to embrace Intransitive Verbs; at p. 48 is *ðugte it him misdon*; 'it seemed to him misdone (*peccatum*'). The Passive Voice was spreading its conquests; at p. 24 comes *woren he brebre sworen*; 'they were sworn brothers;' at p. 110 comes ðe *desert aren he walkeden ðurg*; 'they are walked.' We see the old use of *like* in *him misliked ðat* (p. 50); also the new use as in the Proverbs of Alfred, where the Verb changes its construction and becomes Transitive:

> Balaac misliked al ðis queðe,
> And ledde hem &c.—Page 114.

The Verb *beget* is seen both in its old sense, *adipisci*, and in its new sense *gignere*; this last has driven out the old *cennan*. At p. 21, we see *he bigat a sune*. A new Verb, in *ðat bifel Sarrai*, is used for the old *gelimpen* (accidere). Up to this time, *niman* had meant *capere*; it here acquires the further sense of *ire*, and this is one of the peculiar marks of the East Midland Dialect for the next hundred years; our *get* has now both of the Latin meanings I have named. The Verb *take* is used in the same sense at p. 50; Laban *toc and wente and folwede on*; this sense of *take* is still alive; it may be further seen in *overtake*. Orrmin's phrase of *taking with* a woman is repeated; and at page 63 we hear of *taking leave*. When we hear that Lot's wife *wente in to a ston*

(p. 32), it suggests that of the two old meanings of *wendan*, the Latin *ire* and *mutare*, the latter is most present to our minds in the phrase, 'he went into a rage.' The Verb *do* is much used; we hear that Adam and Eve were *don ut of Paradis* (ejecti sunt). This must be the phrase that suggested our modern expression for *cheating*. At p. 69 comes *it wurð mid him don* (actum est de). At p. 101 the Israelites *deden Aaron in age*, 'put in fear.' At p. 109 they *deden fin*, 'made an end,' or 'died.' But *make* is beginning to encroach upon this *do*; the people *maden suriuren* (sojourn) *in* ðe *desert* (p. 94). At p. 72, we see that the hard East Anglian form *wake* (vigilare) was to be set apart for one special meaning, while the Southern corruption *watch* was to be in more common use; Joseph's body was *waked* after death. *Clip* is used in Orrmin's Scandinavian sense of *tondere*, not in the Old English sense of *amplecti*; the Scandinavian *shift* (mutare) comes at p. 50.

When we see *stinken smoke* at p. 34, where the Participle has lost the *de* at its end, we understand how easily Layamon's corruption of *ing* for *inde* must have spread through England, and how easily the Infinitive and the Active Participle were confounded. A new Verb, which we still keep, is seen in p. 41; Isaac was mourning, but Eliezer *eðeede his sorge*. This new formation from *eaðe* (facilis) may have been confounded with the French *aaisier*. Long before Chaucer's time it was settled that in this Verb we should use the French *s*, and not the Old English ð. Our *uneasiness* was formerly written *uneaðnes*.

Among the Adverbs are found *quilum* (olim), which

had long been known in Yorkshire. This word, coming South, may have had some share in driving the old *hwiles* (aliquando) away from the South. Another Yorkshire idiom is *a stede wor* (ubi), instead of the old *þær* (p. 57). There are also *moreover*, *bi time* (betimes). The *e*, that of old marked off the Adverb from the Adjective, is clipped in page 96; *Amalek fagt* (fought) *hard*. But the ending *like* was still in use, and was even tacked on to a French Adjective, as *festelike* (hilariter), p. 97. The old *nu þa* (just now) is altered at p. 45; Esau is told, *ðin broðer was her nu*. There is a great change in p. 113; Balaam *gede qui (le) bute forði*, 'he went but a moment for that purpose.' Here *bute* stands for *nonnisi*; in the oldest English a *ne* must have come before the Verb. Orrmin had constantly used the *ne* compounded with Verbs, as *nam*, *nis*, and many such; but our fine old compounds were now waning away throughout East Anglia. In this poem *nil* and *nolde* alone are left: we still say, *will he*, *nill he*; a weighty link with the Latin *volo*, *nolo*.[1]

In Prepositions, *of* is further extended; at p. 47 is *of ðis stede ic sal munen* (remember); Dr. Guthrie, in his Life, constantly writes 'I remember of it;' our more classic *remind of* is akin to this. *Bisiden* seems to get the new sense *præter*, as well as its old sense *juxta*; at page 104 the Israelites, who had received light from heaven, were consumed with fire; it is said, *fier is on hem bisiden ligt*. *Amang* or *among* is now turned into *amongus*, p. 47. The *ofdun*, which was now well estab-

[1] It is curious to find English more primitive than Gothic in this matter. Our old *nâst ðu* (nonne scis) is found in Ulfilas as *niu waist* (St. John xix. 10),

lished as *dun*, is used more like a Preposition than an Adverb in *he figten dun herbi*, p. 101, like our *down there*.

We find the *welðe* of King Alfred's Proverbs, the *dwell* of Orrmin, and the Salopian *window*, here repeated. Readers of 'David Copperfield' will remember that the Suffolk peasantry speak of a house as a *beein*; this is explained by the Scandinavian *bigging*, so well known in Scotland. At p. 90 we read that *was nón biging of all Egypte* without a corpse. This word kept its right spelling in East Anglia down to 1440; since then the *g* in the middle has been softened down. In page 61 Orrmin's verb *clapenn* (vestire) takes the Past Participle *clad*; this is the Scandinavian *klœddr*, the Participle of *klæða*; we still keep this form, as well as Chaucer's *clothed*. There are other Scandinavian words found here, such as

Busk, *bush*	Buskr, Icelandic
Dream, *somnium*[1]	Draumr, Icelandic
Glint	Glânta, Swedish
Levin, *lightening*[2]	Lygne, Norse
Muck	Mykr, Icelandic
Ransack	Ransaka, Norse
Rapen, *to hurry, rap out*	Rapa, Norse
Rospen, *rasp*	Raspa, Swedish
Skie[3]	Sky, *cloud*, Norse

[1] The Old English *dream* meant only *sonus* or *gaudium*, and is so used in the *Bestiary*.

[2] This is a curious instance of the interchange between *g* and *f*.

[3] This as yet only means in English a *cloud*, and this sense of the word lasted till Chaucer's time. *Til skyia* in Norse means 'up in the sky.' Twenty years after the present poem's date *sky* stood for *aer* in Yorkshire.

Spy	Speja, Icelandic
Tine, *lose*	Tína, Norse
Ugly	Ugga, *frighten*, Norse

We find the word *irk* for the first time; it is akin to the German *erken* (fastidire).

Of manna he ben *forhirked* to eten.—Page 104.

We see, in p. 35, 'hem gan ðat water *laken*' (the water began to fail them). This new word for *deesse* is akin to the Dutch *laecke* (defect). In p. 26, we find mention of *tol and takel and orf*. The second of these Substantives comes from the Welsh *taclau*, accoutrements. Our word *skip* comes from the Welsh *ysgip* (a quick snatch); hence locusts are called *skipperes*, p. 88.

At p. 88, Pharaoh uses the Interjection, *hu*! when enraged with Moses; this must have come from the French *comment*. What Orrmin had called *ollfentess* (a Teutonic usage of 800 years) now appears as *kameles* (p. 39); the old *ylp* was not to hold its ground much longer. The old *drake* (draco) is written by the side of the new French *dragun*. A form like *Egyppcienis* shows how the Old English endings of proper names were dying out. In p. 94 the road is said to be *pert*; this form of the French *apert* is strangely altered in our day as regards its meaning. We read of Abraham, p. 29, entertaining the angels with *flures bred*; we now wisely make a difference when spelling *flour* and *flower*. We see the French Verb *he sacrede*, at p. 27, with its English ending; the Past Participle of this has become so common that we now use it as an Adjective. This poem seems to have been written about 1230, and to

have been transcribed seventy years later; by that time many of the old words had died out; thus *wæstm*, *wasteme* (forma) conveyed no meaning to the transcriber, who writes it *waspene*.

A Norfolk lad is referred to the Lanercost Chronicle for 1244, as bearing the name of *Wille* (Willy), the short of *William*; the intermediate form must have been the *Willekin*, found about 1190.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1230.)

ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD.[1]

Đo [a] wex a flod ðis werlde wid-hin	[a] Then
and ouer-flowged meñ & deres [b] kin	[b] animals
wiðuten [c] Noe and hise ðre sunen,	[c] except
Sem, Cam, Iaphet, if we rigt munen, [d]	[d] consider
and here [e] foure wifes woren hem wið;	[e] their
ðise viii hadden in ðe arche grið. [f]	[f] peace
Đat arche was a feteles [g] good,	[g] vessel
set and limed agen ðe flood;	
ðre hundred elne was it long,	
nailed and sperd, [h] ðig and strong,	[h] closed
and l[ti] elne wid, and xxx[ti] heg [i];	[i] high
ðor buten Noe long swing he dreg [k];	[k] bore toil
an hundred winter, everic del, [l]	[l] bit
welken or [m] it was ended wel;	[m] passed ere
of alle der ðe on werlde wunen, [n]	[n] dwell
and foueles, weren ðerinne cumen	
bi seven and seven, or by two & two,	
Almigtin God him bad it so,	
and mete quorbi [o] ðei migten liven,	[o] whereby
ðor quiles he [p] woren on water driven.	[p] they

[1] *Genesis and Exodus*, p. 16 (Early English Text Society).

sexe hundred ger Noe was hold [q]
Quan he dede [r] him in ðe arche-wold.
Two ðusant ger, sex hundred mo,
and sex and fifti forð to ðo,[s]
weren of werldes elde numen [t]
ðan [u] Noe was in to ðe arche cumen.
Ilc [x] wateres springe here strengðe undede,
and reyne gette [y] dun on everilk stede
fowerti dais and fowerti nigt,
so wex water wið magti migt.
so wunderlike it wex and get
ðat fiftene elne it overflet,
over ilk dune,[z] and over ilc hil,
ðhurge Godes migt and Godes wil;
and oðer fowerti ðore-to,
dais and nigtes stod et so;
ðo was ilc fleis [a] on werlde slagen,
ðo gunnen [b] ðe wateres him wið-dragen.
Ðe sevend moned was in cumen,
and sevene and xx[ti] dais numen,
in Armenie ðat arche stod,
ðo was wið-dragen ðat ilc [c] flod.
Ðo ðe tende moned came in,
so wurð dragen ðe watres win [d];
dunes wexen, ðe flod wið-drog,
It adde lasted long anog.[e]
Fowerti dais after ðis,
arches *windoge* undon it is,
ðe raven ut-fleg,[f] hu so it gan ben,
ne [g] cam he nogt to ðe arche agen.
ðe duve fond [h] no clene stede,
and wente agen and wel it dede;
ðe sevendai eft ut it tog,[i]
and brogt a grene olives bog;[k]
seve nigt siðen [l] everilc on
he is let ut flegen,[m] crepen, and gon,
wiðuten [n] ilc sevend clene der
ðe he sacrede on an aucter.[o]

[q] old
[r] put
[s] beside those
[t] taken
[u] when
[x] each
[y] poured
[z] mountain
[a] flesh
[b] began
[c] same
[d] force
[e] enough
[f] flew out
[g] nor
[h] found
[i] went
[k] bough
[l] afterwards
[m] to fly
[n] except
[o] altar

Sex hundred ger and on dan olde
Noe sag[p] ut of ðe arche-wolde; [p] looked
ðe first moned and te first dai,
he sag erðe drie & te water awai;
get he was wis and nogt to rad;[q] [q] quick
gede[r] he nogt ut, til God him bad. [r] went

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1230.)

Ar ne kuthe ich sorghe non,
Nu ich mot manen nun mon,
Karful wel sore ich syche;
Geltles ihc tholye muchele schame;
Help God for thin swete name,
Kyng of hevene-riche.

Jesu Crist, sod God, sod man,
Loverd, thu rew upon me,
Of prisun thar ich in am
Bring me ut and makye fre.
Ich and mine feren sume,
God wot ich ne lyghe noct,
For othre habbet misnome,
Ben in thys prison ibroct.

Almicti, that wel licth,
Of bale is hale and bote,
Hevene king, of this woning
Ut us bringe mote.
Foryhef hem, the wykke men,
God, yhef it is thi wille,
For wos gelt we bed ipelt
In thos prisun hille.

Ne hope non to his live,
Her ne mai he belive,

Heghe thegh he stighe,
Ded him felled to grunde.
Nu had man wele and blisce,
Rathe he shal tharof misse,
Worldes wele mid ywise
Ne lasted buten on stunde.

Maiden, that bare the heven king,
Bisech thin sone, that swete thing,
That he habbe of hus rewsing,
And bring us of this woning
For his muchele misse;
He bring hus ut of this wo,
And hus tache werchen swo,
In those live go wu sit go,
That we moten ey and o
Habben the eche blisce.

The above poem is taken from the Liber de Antiquis Legibus ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 274), in the possession of the Corporation of London; the manuscript has musical notes attached to it. The proportion of obsolete English is much the same as in the Genesis and Exodus. The poem of page 300 seems therefore to represent the London speech of the year 1230, or so. What was *g* in Suffolk becomes *c* here, as in the Twelfth Century Homilies; it is *broct*, not *brogt*; *gelt* replaces *gilt*, as in Kent. The *h* is sometimes misused, even as Londoners of our day misuse it. The *gh* sometimes replaces the old *h*, as we saw in the Essex Homilies: this change was now overspreading the greater part of the Eastern side of England between London and York. The change of þ into *d* in many words is curious. The form *habben* (habere) is a mark of the South.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1240.)

The piece that comes next, a version of the Athanasian Creed, was most likely written in the Northernmost part of Lincolnshire, perhaps not far from Hull. We see the Northern forms in great abundance; thus *whilk* is used for the Relative; *als*, *til*, *sal*, *þair*, &c., come often: the third Person Singular of the Present tense ends in *es*, not in *eth*; *bes* (erit) replaces the old *beoð*. But the Southern *o* was making great inroads on the Northern *a*, as we saw in East Anglia; in this piece we find *so*, *non*, *no mo*, *whos*, *þow* (tamen), *who so*; in short, the whole poem foreshadows Manning's riming Chronicle. The *a* becomes *e*, as in the Northern Gospels; *heli* (sanctus) replaces *hali*. The *g* is turned into *yh*; and many endings are clipped. The Participle *geboren* is cut down to *born*. The writer who Englished this Creed has little love for outlandish words; *sauf*, *sengellic*, and *persones* are the only three specimens of French here found: he commonly calls *persones* by the obsolete name *hodes*. The deep theological terms of the Creed could still be expressed in sound English; though the writer's *mikel* does not wholly convey the sense of our *incomprehensible*. We see our *bifore-said* for the first time. *Bot* (sed) and *with* (cum) are preferred to their other English synonyms, as in Orrmin's writings. Unlike that poet, our present author will seldom use *ne* for the Latin *non*; he prefers *noht*, as in the East Anglian pieces: but he once has *nil* (*nolunt*). We see the Participle *lastend*,

which Orrmin would have used. The new *beand* (the French *étant*) replaces the old *wesende.*

This Creed, short though it be, shows us two great changes that were taking root in our spelling; *h* was being turned, as in Essex, into *gh*, and *u* into *ou.* One or two instances of these changes may be seen in the East Midland poems of 1230; but the alteration is now well marked. We see *right, noght,* and *thurght,* instead of the old *riht, noht,* and *thurh.* These words must have been pronounced with a strong guttural sound, which may still be heard in the Scotch Lowlands; there *right* is sounded much like the German *recht. Thoh* is in this Creed written *þof,* a sure mark of the North; and this shows us how *cough* and *rough* came to be pronounced as they are now.[1] The letters *h* and *f* (or rather *þ*) are akin to each other; the primitive Aryan *katvar* is the Gothic *fidwor* (four), and the Lithuanian *dwy-lika* is our *twâ-lifa* (twelve). With us, Livorno becomes Leghorn; and in Aberdeenshire *hwa* (the Latin *quis*) is pronounced *fa.*

EAST MIDLAND.

(A.D. 1240.)

Who þat þen will berihed[a] be,
So of þe þrinnes[b] leve he,
And nede at hele[c] þat last ai sal
Đat þe fleshede[d] ai with al
Of oure louerd Jhu Crist forþi[e]
Đat he trowe it trewli.

[a] saved
[b] Trinity
[c] salvation
[d] incarnation
[e] therefore

[1] Why should *cough* be sounded differently from *plough*? 'I have

Þen ever is trauth[f] right
Þat we leve with alle oure miht
Þat oure louerd Jhu Crist in blis
Godes son and man he his,
God of kinde of fadir kinned[g] werld biforn,
Man of kinde of moder into werld born,
Fulli God, fulli man lvand
Of schilful[h] saule and mannes flesshe beand,
Even to the Fadir þurght godhede,
Lesse þen Fader þurght manhede,
Þat þof he be God and man,
Noght two þrwæþer[i] is, bot Crist an,
On, noht þurght wendinge[k] of Godhed in flesshe,
Bot þurght takynge of manhede in godnesshe,
On al, noht be menginge of stayelness,[l]
Bot þurht onhede of hode[m] þat is,
Þat þoled[n] for our hele, doun went til helle,
Þe þred dai ros fro dede so felle,
Upstegh[o] til heven, sittes on right hand
Of God Fadir alle mightand,
And yhit for to come is he
To deme þe quik and dede that be,
Ate whos come alle men þat are
Sal rise with þaire bodies þare,
And yelde sal þai, nil þai ne wil,
Of þair awen[p] dedes il,
And þat wel haf doun þat dai
Sal go to lif þat lastes ai,
And ivel haf doun sal wende

[f] belief
[g] begotten
[h] reasonable
[i] still
[k] changing
[l] substance
[m] person
[n] suffered
[o] went up
[p] own

---

a cow in my box,' said a Frenchman, meaning a cough in his chest. In the short sentence, *a dough-faced ploughman, coughing and hiccoughing, went thoughtfully through Loughborough*, we find *ough* sounded in eight different ways. The Scotch still sound *rough* and the proper name *Brough* as if the names ended in *kh*; this was, until lately, the usage in the Yorkshire dales.

In fire lastend withouten ende.
Þis is þe trauht þat heli [q] isse,
Whilk bot[r] ilkon with miht hisse
Trewlic and fastlic trowe he,
Saufe ne mai he never be.[1]

[q] holy
[r] unless

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1240.)

THE OWL AND NIGHTINGALE.—Line 993.

Yut þu aisheist wi ich ne fare
In to other londe and singe thare.
No! what sholde ich among hom do,
War never blisse ne com to?
That lond nis god, ne hit nis este,
Ac wildernisse hit is and weste,
Knarres and cludes hoventinge,
Snou and hagel hom is genge;
That lond is grislich and un-vele,
The men both wilde and unisele;
Hi nabbeth nother grith ne sibbe;
Hi ne reccheth hu hi libbe,
Hi eteth fihs an flehs un-sode,
Suich wulves hit hadde to-brode;
Hi drinketh milc, and wei thar-to,
Hi nute elles wat hi do;
Hi nabbeth noth win ne bor,
Ac libbeth al so wilde dor;
Hi goth bi-tigt mid ruge velle,
Rigt svich hi comen ut of helle;
Thez eni god man to hem come,
(So wiles dude sum from Rome)
For hom to lere gode thewes,
An for to leten hore unthewes,

[1] Hickes has mangled some of the words in this piece, which I leave as he printed it. It is in his *Thesaurus*, 1. 233.

He miȝte bet sitte stille,
Vor al his wile he sholde spille;
He miȝte bet teche ane bore
To weȝe bothe sheld and spere,
Than me that wilde folc i-bringe,
That hi me segge wolde i-here singe.

These lines are taken from a most charming Dorsetshire Poem, which seems to have been no translation from the French. It was published by the Percy Society, No. 39. Most of the forms found in the 'Ancren Riwle are here repeated. We see from the present work how warmly King Alfred's name had been taken to England's heart. The proverbs attributed to him come again and again, 340 years after his death. In p. 44 we read that 'his worde was *goddspel*.' We find also other saws, such as

'Dahet habbe that ilke best,
That fuleth his owe nest.'[1]

The Vowel *o* is encroaching upon its brethren; *mowe* replaces the old *mawe* (metere). The former *he lyst* (amittit) becomes *he lost*; this form was not as yet transferred from the Present to the Perfect. The *u* is sometimes used for *o*; the Past Participle *ischud* stands in p. 52 for the old *gesceo-god*; we here get the first hint as to our present way of sounding *shoe*. The old *þrisc* (turdus) now becomes our *thrusche*.

The most remarkable new effect in Consonants is the paring away of the *n* in the Past Participle of *agon*; in p. 18 we read *wane thi lust is ago*; the corrupt Southern

[1] The French imprecation *dahet* shows whence comes our 'dash it!'

form kept by us in *long ago*. The older form remains in *woe-begone*; the Participle here comes from *begangdh* (circumdare). In the same way as *agon*, *æfen* (vesper) here becomes *eve*. In another word the *f* is thrown out, for *hælfter* becomes *halter*. The *h* is prefixed to the Old English *ule* (bubo); we may still write either *howlet* or *owlet*, like *Hester* and *Esther*. The *n* is inserted, for *nihtegale* becomes *nigtingale*; in 'Middlemarch,' Mr. Dagley is loud in praise of the *Rinform* (Reform). When we find *Alfred* written *Alvred* (p. 9) we see a relic of the spelling of Domesday Book. The old *boga* (ramus) is written sometimes *boȝe*, sometimes *bowe*. It is easy to see how Layamon turned the Active Participle *inde* into *inge*, when we find at p. 30 *singinge* riming with *avinde*.

One of the Substantives here used gains a syllable, for *morgen* becomes *moreȝeiing* (morning), just as *holh* (cavus) becomes *holeuh* (hollow). The old *rode* had hitherto meant *crux*; it is now seen as *rodde*, meaning *virga*. The word *bonda* (colonus) becomes *bondeman*. We find the Substantive *sprenge* (trap), which comes from the Verb *spring*.

As to Adjectives: the old *gidig* seems to have been preserved by the South and West alone. This poem has many forms, such as, *in the derne* (dark), *into the bare*, *in the thick*, where the Adjective is used like a Substantive, as in Greek.

Among Pronouns, we find *thilke*, which is used only once (p. 36). One of our modern usages is to insert *it is*, when we wish to be emphatic. At p. 40 we read—

Hervore it is that me the shuneth.

This is stronger than 'on this account men shun thee.' At p. 4 we see *other* referred to past time, as we say 'the other day.'—

That other ȝer a faukun bledde.

The Article *an* and the Numeral *one*, both springing from the old *ân*, were as yet anything but distinct; in the 4th line of the poem we read of *an hule and one niȝtingale.* At 25 the *on* (unus) appears without a Substantive and coupled with a Possessive Pronoun; having spoken of arts, the bird says, *betere is min on* (craft).

In Verbs, we remark the change of meaning in the old *mot, most*; this Verb, which earlier bore the sense of the Latin *licet*, now takes the meaning of *oportet*; this may be plainly seen in p. 45, *þu most of londe fleo.* Still the Verb *mot* lasted in its oldest sense down to 1550; it is still, I believe, used in the Freemasons' formula, *so mote it be. Must*, used in the new sense, has driven out the Old English *thearf*; and it so entirely got the meaning of *oportet*, that *must us* (it behoves us) is used in the Townly Mysteries, about the year 1430. At p. 39 comes the Passive *thu art ishote*, as if the old *sceotan* had always governed an Accusative.

We have seen many Adjectives here used as Substantives; this usage is extended to Participles. At p. 50 comes

Wanne ich iseo the tohte ilete.

'The *taught* (tensus) let out.' At p. 34 *solde hi ȝollen* stands for 'if they yelled;' this use of *should*, in a conditional sentence, is something new. At p. 20 we hear

of a man that *ne can noȝt bute singe*; here the Infinitive is used as it were in apposition to the *nought*, something like Orrmin's idiom. At p. 56 comes *thu nevre mon* (homini) *to gode ne stode*; this suggests that our 'stand me a pot' is short for 'stand me to a pot,' 'be worth to me for so much as a pot.' The phrase *let be*, instead of *let alone*, is in p. 58. We use the verb *bode* always in a bad sense; this is seen in the present poem. *Break* now becomes intransitive, as 'his heart *nolde breke*,' (p. 37). The verb *bihemman* is formed from *hem* (fimbria).

We find the phrase *for* (far) *and wide*, (p. 25), as well as the old *far and near*.

The Prepositions to be remarked are, 'he would not *for* his life,' (p. 37); 'they are *of* thy mind,' (p. 52); 'to miss *of* fairhede;' in this last the *of* stands for the Genitive that used to follow the Old English *þolian* (carere). Hence *fail of, come short of, disappoint of*. In p. 27 stands 'though all strength were *at one*,' that is, 'in one place,' the old *onan*; from this we have 'to set at one' (whence comes *atonement*); the *at* often has the meaning of *in*. The Preposition *behind* is used as a Substantive at p. 21.

There are a few Scandinavian words, such as *mishap*, *cukeweald* (cuckold), *cogge* (of a wheel), *falt* (falter), *utlete* (outlet), and *shrew*; the last comes from *skraa* (sloping); we now apply *shrew* to women, and *screw* to horses. The verb *beshrew* was formed from this in the next Century.

There are many words cropping up, akin to the Dutch and German, like *clack*, *clench*, *clute* (gleba), *cremp* (contrahere), *hacch* (parere), *luring* (torvo vultu),

mesh, *isliked* (whence our *sleek*), *stump*, *twinge*, *wippen*; the last in its intransitive sense.

In p. 27, we see the first use of a well-known Adjective:

> Mon deth mid strengthe and mid witte;
> That other thing nis non his *fitte*.'

That is, 'it is no match for man.' This is akin to the Dutch *vitten* (convenire). There is also *cwesse* (comprimere), at p. 48, akin to the Dutch *quassen*, whence comes our *squash* and *squeeze*; and at p. 54 we read, *al thi sputing schal aswinde*; here the Noun, akin to the Dutch *spuiten*, stands for *sermo*; the race of *spouters* is anything but extinct.

Among the few French words in this long poem are *pie* (picus), *gente* (still used in Scotland as *genty*,) *at one acorde*; *stable* is found with the French *e* at the beginning clipped. The word *gabbing* is used in the French sense of *mockery*, (p. 22), as in the Ancren Riwle; this old word was English, Scandinavian, and French, each with a different shade of meaning; we still talk of the gift of the *gab*. *Master* is for the first time prefixed to proper names; as *Maister Nichole*; in our surnames we now follow the form Nicoll more than Nicholas.

The Cotton Manuscript (about 1240), in which the last poem is embodied, contains many other pieces, mostly Southern. These are repeated in the Jesus Manuscript, compiled about twenty years later.[1] There are here Northern forms, such as *whase*, *saule*, and

[1] These are printed by Dr. Morris, in his *Old English Miscellany*, (Early English Text Society).

winnmen; also the Southern *vayre*. The poems may perhaps belong to Oxford, or thereabouts. The *a* encroaches upon *æ* and *ea*, as in *mass*, *chapman*. The *au* becomes prominent, as *we auhte* (debemus); *gleow* becomes *gle* (p. 91). The old *hu* is written *how* at p. 142. We here find our modern *eye* and *youhþe*; the old *smyc* becomes *smyche* (p. 75), whence our *smutch and smudge*. The old *gearwa* is cut down to *gere*, our *gear*, at page 164. Layamon's corrupt Present Participle is spreading over Southern England; in the one page 180 we see both the old *berninde* and the new *berninge* (urens).

As to Nouns: the Virgin says, at p. 100, *ich am Godes wenche* (ancilla); the word was henceforth used only of women, though Orrmin had called Isaac a *wennchell*.[1] We light on many new English names at pp. 188–190; such as *Janekin* (Jenkin), *Wadekin* (Watkin), *Robin*, *Gilot*, besides the old *Malekin*.

We have seen Past Participles coupled with the Possessive Pronoun, no Substantive following; Adjectives are treated in the same way, after the fashion of the old *mîn gelîca*; at p. 82 comes *myne gode*; similarly, at p. 96, a maid is addressed as *A swete*, 'Ah, sweet.' At p. 86 we get an insight into the true meaning of *freo*; it is there opposed, not to *thralls*, but to *poure*; it must have fairly well expressed our *gentle* in *gentleman*. To this word we shall return thirty years later. At p. 144 comes the curious word *clybbe*, which means *avidus*, to

[1] Wickliffe uses *wench*, when writing of the daughters of wealthy men, in his translation of the Gospels.

judge by the context; it may be another form of the East Anglian *cliver*.

Among the Pronouns, we see at p. 85 *þilke* (illi), which was slowly spreading through the South, and encroaching upon *þo*. At p. 96 *eu* (vos) is evidently written instead of *þe* (te); *thou* and *you* come sometimes in a speech addressed to a single person; this may be seen in Goldsmith and Knowles.[1] At p. 73 we see *say* used as an Impersonal Verb, an imitation of the old *it is written*; we here light upon *hit seyþ in þe godspelle*. The *þlon* of East Anglia now becomes *al one* (p. 85). In Old English we should have found *better be hundredfold*; this is changed at p. 98 into *he is betere an hundred folde*. What in Essex had been called *þat an* now becomes *þe on*, which we still keep (p. 101).

Among the Verbs we remark *moste* used in the sense of *oportet*, as we saw in Dorset. The old *ute*, followed by the Infinitive, is seen for the last time, I think, at p. 141. The Imperative *beoð* is cut down to *beo* at p. 78. The Infinitive *faren* is dropped in *he schal heonne* (hence) at p. 94; at p. 186 is *he made him falle*. The peculiar idiom with the verb *stand*, seen before in a Dorset poem, is now carried a step further; at p. 99 comes *hit wolde him stonde muchel stel* (in great stead).

We see the Adverbs *þeruppon* and *þârwyþal* (pp. 78, 97); in the last, *withal* for the first time Englishes the Latin *cum*. At p. 139 *after* is used, not as a Preposition, but for *postea*.

At p. 82 we see our Verb *hwyne* (whine), which

[1] See Mätzner's *English Grammar*, III. 225.

follows the Icelandic *veina* rather than the Old English *wanian*. There is the Verb *ruskit* (p. 92) applied to hounds *rushing* or *racing* about; the true old form was *rêsan*. A new word for *tremere* comes at p. 176:

> For ich schal bernen in fur
> And *chiverin* in ise.

We see in p. 76 a Celtic word brought into English, a word which Shakespere was to make immortal. It is said that greedy monks shall be *bitauht þe puke* (given over to the Fiend). The Welsh *pwcca* and *bwg* mean 'hobgoblin;' hence come our *bugbears* and *bogies*.[1] Tyndale, who lived near the Welsh border, uses *bug* for something that frightens children; *bogle* is employed in Scotland for a *scarecrow*.

The French influence in the poem is seen at p. 90, where ten or twelve long lines end in one rime; but the English could never hope to rival the French in this riming system. At p. 98 we see *ymstone*, a relic of the old *gim-stân*, that had been written for hundreds of years in England; a few lines further back, we find the new French *gemme*. The English of the year 600 had been able to couple words of their own with outlandish terms; the English of 1240 saw their own words dying away, and were glad to

[1] Good Bishop Bedell, in a letter to Usher, brands an oppressor named Cooke: 'he is the most cryed out upon. Insomuch as he hath found from the Irish the nickname of Pouc.'—P. 105 of Bedell's *Life*, printed in 1685. This seems to show that about 1630 our *oo* had already the sound of the French *ou* The interchange of *c* and *p* is curious.

replace them by purely foreign terms. The new *peple*, for instance, was used as well as *folk*; *þe peple me tolde* is in p. 92. In p. 122 *þe biwilen*, which is in the Cotton Manuscript, is replaced by *do þe gyle* in the Jesus Manuscript. When we see *quiten* (pay for) *her ale*, at p. 190, we have the source of our '*we are quits*,' that is, 'we have paid each other.'

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About 1250.)

I now give the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Belief, from a manuscript written in the middle of the Thirteenth Century, and printed in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 22. This must have been used in the Northern part of Mercia, perhaps not far from Orrmin's abode; for the *a* is not replaced by *o*, as in East Anglia. We also find such Northern forms as *til*, *fra*, *als*, *alwaldand*. But we have here the great Midland shibboleth, the Present Plural of the Verb ending in *en*; this is sometimes altogether dropped. The Third Person Singular of the present now ends in *s*, which is most unlike the Genesis and Exodus. The Preposition *for* is used in a new way; it might always stand in a sentence like 'for God's sake;' it is now prefixed to the French *merci*. *Omnis* is translated by *hevirilk*; this, to the North of the Humber, would have been *ilk an*. *Sal* is used for *shall*. *Are* is used for the Latin *sunt*. The Past Participle has no prefix. The letter *h* is sometimes set at the beginning of words most uncouthly. *Acennede* (genitus) is replaced by *begotten*. *Heli* stands for the old

halig, as in the Athanasian Creed given at p. 138. The French *lele* (fidus) appears, which is Northern. On the other hand, we find *ham* (illos), not *þam*. We light upon the full forms *mankind* and *kingdom* for the first time; the latter was earlier written *kinedom*. Nottingham would be as likely a town as any for the following rimes. We may imagine the great Bishop Robert hearing his Mercian flock repeat these same lines, while he turns aside for a short time from his wrangles with the Roman Court, and from the studies that made the name of Lincolniensis known throughout Christendom.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1250.)

[I b]idde huve with milde stevene
prayer raise voice
til ure fader þe king of hevene,
to
in þe mununge of Cristis pine,
remembrance
for þe laverd of þis hus, and al lele hine,
faithful hinds
for alle cristinfolk that is in gode lif,
that God schilde ham to dai fro sinne and fro siche;
for alle tho men that are in sinne bunden,
those
that Jhesu Crist ham leyse, for is hali wndes;
loose wounds
for quike and for deade and al mankinde;
and þat wṡ here God don in hevene mot þar it finde;
may place in heaven

and for alle þat on herþe us fedin and fostre;
earth
saie we nu alle þe hali pater noster.

Ure fadir þat hart in hevene,
halged be þi name with giftis sevene,
samin cume þi kingdom,
likewise
þi wille in herþe als in hevene be done,
ure bred þat lastes ai
gyve it hus þis hilke dai,
same
and ure misdedis þu forgyve hus,
als we forgyve þam þat misdon hus,
and leod us intol na fandinge,
temptation
bot frels us fra alle ivele þinge. Amen.

Heil Marie, ful of grace,
þe lavird with þe in hevirilk place,
every
blisced be þu mang alle wimmein,
and blisced be þe blosme of þi wambe. Amen.

Maidin and moder þat bar þe hevene king,
wer us fro wre wyþer-wines at ure hending;
defend *enemies* *ending*
blisced be þe pappis þat Godis sone sauk,
sucked
þat bargh ure kinde þat þe nedre bysuak.
protected *race* *serpent tricked.*
Moder of milte and maidin Mari,
mercy
help us at ure hending, for þi merci.
þat suete Jhesu þat born was of þe,
þu give us in his godhed him to se.
Jhesu for þi moder love and for þin hali wndis,
þu leise us of þe sinnes þat we are inne bunde.

'Hi true in God, fader hal-michttende, þat makede heven and herdeþe, and in Jhesu Krist, is anelepi sone, hure laverd, þat was bigotin of þe hali gast, and born of the mainden Marie, pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to the rode, ded and dulvun, licht in til helle, þe þride dai up ras fra dede to live, stegh intil hevenne, sitis on is fadir richt hand, fadir alwaldand, he þen sal cume to deme þe quike an þe dede. Hy troue hy þeli gast, and hely kirke, þe samninge of halghes, forgifnes of sinnes, uprisigen of fleyes, and life with-hutin hend. Amen.' [1]

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(A.D. 1250.)

PSALM VIII.

Laverd, oure Laverd, hou selkouth is
Name þine in alle land þis.
For upe-hoven es þi mykelhede
Over hevens þat ere brade;
Of mouth of childer and soukand
Made þou lof in ilka land,
For þi faes; þat þou for-do
þe fai, þe wreker him unto.
For I sal se þine hevenes hegh,
And werkes of þine fingres slegh;[2]

---

[1] We find the old genitive still uncorrupted, as *hevene king, fadir hand.* We still say *hell fire, Lady day.* It is most strange that such words as *fanding, stegh,* and *samninge* should ever have dropped out of our speech, since they must have been in the mouths of all Englishmen that knew the simplest truths of religion.

[2] *Sly* (sapiens) has here a most exalted sense; it has been sadly degraded. 'Nasty sly girl!' says one of Mr. Trollope's matrons speaking of her son's enchantress.

Þe mone and sternes mani ma,
Þat þou grounded to be swa.
What is man, þat þou mines of him?
Or son of man, for þou sekes him?
Þou liteled him a litel wight
Lesse fra þine aungeles bright;
With blisse and mensk þou crouned him yet,
And over werkes of þi hend him set.
Þou under-laide all þinges
Under his fete þat ought forth-bringes,
Neete and schepe bathe for to welde,
In-over and beestes of þe felde,
Fogheles of heven and fissches of se,
Þat forth-gone stihes of þe se.
Laverd, our Laverd, hou selkouth is
Name þine in alle land þis.

The above Psalm is a specimen of the Northumbrian Psalter (Surtees Society), a translation which, from its large proportion of obsolete words must have been compiled about 1250, though it has come down to us only in a transcript made sixty years later. This is the earliest well-marked long specimen of the Northern Dialect, spoken at York, Durham, and Edinburgh alike; it was now making its way to Ayr and Aberdeen, and driving out the old Celtic dialects before it. This was the speech that long held its own in the Palaces and Law-courts of Scotland, the speech which was embodied in Acts of Parliament down to Queen Anne's time, and which has been handled by world-renowned Makers: may it never die out! It will be found that our classic English owes much to Yorkshire; some of its forms did not make their way to London until 1520. How different would our

speech have been, if York had replaced London as our capital!

This Psalter, most likely compiled in Southern Yorkshire,[1] is nearly akin in its spelling to the Lincolnshire Creed in p. 303. We of course find the Active Participle in *and*, the old Scandinavian form; *sal* is used for *shall*; *thai*, *thair*, *thaim* occur, something like the forms in the Ormulum. We see the correct *þou mines*, where we now should say *þou mindest*; a twofold corruption. The Third Person Singular of the Present ends in *s*, as *gives*, *does*, *has*; we follow this Northern usage in week-day life, but on Sunday we have recourse in church to the old Southern forms, *giveth*, *doeth*, &c. A remarkable Scandinavian form, already found in the Rushworth Gospels, is seen in Vol. I. p. 301; *þou is* (tu es); *þou has*, which is also found, is not yet grown into *thou hast*. The old ending of the Imperative Plural is sometimes clipped, though not often; as *understande* for *intelligite*; this we saw in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The Northern form of the Present Plural in *es* appears, as *hates*, (oderunt); and Shakespere sometimes follows this form.

As to Vowels: the *a* replaces *e* and *æ*, as *far*, *handy*, *brake*, *spake*; it replaces *o*, as *sware* for the rightful *swore*, and this wrong form has been forced into our Bible by Tyndale. The *ai* replaces *a*, as *fai* (hostis),

[1] The Midland Present Plural ending in *en* is sometimes found, as *wirken* (laborant); I have already remarked on an instance of this in the Rushworth Gospels. Ninety years later, Higden said that this Yorkshire speech was so harsh and rôugh that it could be hardly understood in the South.

for the older *fa*; and this sound remains in Scotland; *ogaines* stands for *contrà*, but the first letter is clipped in compounds; *gaine-sagh* is written where a Southerner would have put *ayensaȝe*. This *gainsay* is the only Verb compounded with *gain* that we have left. The *said* of the Psalter has in the end beaten the Southern *seid*; there is also *slaine*. The *e* stands in *meres* (jumenta), which we still pronounce aright; the *e* is often doubled, as in *feet*, *neet*, *beest*. The old *þencan* (putare) is carefully kept in the South, that there may be no confusion with *þinkeð* (videtur); but in the North the former is seen as *think*, Vol. I. p. 3. The *o* encroaches upon *æ*, for *forgæt* becomes *forgot*; *swo* and *þo* are found for *swæ* and *þa*. There is much confusion between *o* and *u*; we see the old *luve* and the new *love* (amare); what was once *gebundne his* (vinctos suos) now becomes *his bonden*, Vol. I. p. 221; new words were soon to be formed from this Participle. The old *duru* (ostium) becomes *doer* in the North, Vol. II. p. 153; the earlier form lives in the proper name *Durward*. The words written *arwe* and *sorwe* lose their last letter, and are sounded like *aru* and *soru*; the *u* was later to be replaced by *o*.

The old Consonants were roughly handled in the North. The *k* is thrown out altogether in *takes*, *taken*, which become *tas* and *tane*; the latter lives in our poetry. The old *cneowun* is cut down to *newe*, Vol. I. p. 33. The *g* sometimes becomes *w*; the English word for *arcus* is written both *bough* and *bowe*; *geat* (porta) becomes *yhate*, the Scotch *yett*; here the North followed the South, and was perhaps glad to make a distinction between this word and the Danish *gæt* (iter). *Heg*

(*fœnum*) becomes *hai*. The *g* is thrown out altogether in *morgen*, which becomes our *morning* (Vol. I. p. 157);[1] the Scandinavians wrote *mornan* as well as *morginn*. We also find *bie* for *bycgan* (emere), *slaer*, and *slaine*. The old *h* is replaced by *gh*; we see *heghest*, *sight*, *neghbur*, *sagh*. The guttural sound in the middle of these words lingered in the Yorkshire dales long after the year 1800, and may still be heard in the Scotch Lowlands. We see *not* written for *noht*. The *f* is sometimes thrown out, for *super principes* is Englished by *our princes* (Vol. II. p. 43); hence the poetical *o'er*. The *d* is sometimes inserted, as in *wrecchedness* and *wickedness*; it is replaced by *t*, as in *left* and *reft*, where the Vowels also have been mauled. The *t* is added to a word, as when *hâs* (raucus) becomes *haast*; hence the Scotch *hoast*. The Scandinavian form was *hósti*. We of the South a hundred years later put an *r* into the old Adjective and called it *hoarse*. On the other hand, we now too often drop the *r* in *horse*, and call it *hoss*. The *haast* may have been formed from the old Verb *hwostan* (cough). The *t* replaces the old þ, for *heaþo* becomes *heght*, our *height*. The old *lengan* has a þ inserted; *elongavi* is translated *I lenghþed*, Vol. I. p. 173. The þ sometimes slides into *s*; what in 850 was *aðeastrade sind* (obscurati sunt), is now seen as *er sestrede*, Vol. I. p. 241. What used to be *inlihton* (inluxerunt) is now *lightned*, with a strange *n*. The old *þurh* (per) has its

[1] *Morgen* of old meant both *cras* and *mane*; the latter meaning is expressed by the change of consonants seen here; the former meaning is expressed by the Southern *w* or *u*, replacing the old *g*. The old word becomes two-pronged.

letters transposed and becomes *thrugh*. The *y* is sometimes prefixed; for *yerthe* (terra), the Scandinavian *jarða*, is in p. 3; hence the Scotch talk of *yill* and *yerl*, 'ale and earl.'

A process, largely spread in the North, seemed to be replacing the number of old Substantives that England was fast losing at this time. We are struck by the number of newly-coined Verbal Nouns; *captiq* is Englished by *þe takeing*, Vol. I. p. 105; there is also *fulfilling*, *fleing*; but far stranger are the number of Plurals, such as *gainges* (gressus), not the old *gong*, Vol. I. p. 115; *þair levinges* (quæ superfuerunt), Vol. I. p. 41; and many others. Romance words undergo this process; *fabulationes* becomes *fablinges*, at Vol. II. p. 91.[1] Other new Plurals are formed; *iniquitates* had once been Englished by *unrehtwisnisse*, this now becomes *wickednesses*, Vol. I. p. 75. The Yorkshire bard adds *ness* to old words, as *ivelnes*, *halowingnes*; even to this day, when we coin a new Substantive, it is *ness* that we mostly employ for the ending, as *pigheadedness* and *long-windedness*. Sometimes he turns an Adjective into a Substantive, for *olera herbarum* (Vol. I. p. 111), is translated *wortes of grenes*; hence our name for certain vegetables. *Bona* is *goddes*, our *goods*. Such phrases as *name of might*, *man of mercy*, *bred of sorw*, *folk of Israel*, become common; this turn of speech we owe to translaters from the Latin. Our noun *understanding*, appearing in 1250 for the first time, comes straight from *intellectus*,

[1] The verbal noun *governessing* is a curious instance of this tendency.

as we here see; though we always had the verb. The phrase *nan me knew a dele* is used in Vol. II. p. 155; the last two words stand for *aught*, and hence comes 'a good deal,' 'a bit,' &c. There are the new Substantives *foundling* and *handmayden*; the last is formed like the old *wood-honey*; English delights in compounding two Nouns. The Scandinavian word *kitling* is first seen.[1] The old *wolcen* had meant both *firmamentum* and *nubes*; the second of these meanings is here taken from the word, and laid upon a wholly new word, *kloude*; it means that vapours are drawn up into *clods* or masses, the Dutch *clote*.[2] In Vol. I. p. 43, we read *in þe kloudes of þe skewe*, 'in nubibus aeris.' *Sky* has therefore at last got its modern meaning; this shifting of the senses of words is most curious.

In Adjectives, we see the ending *ful* growing apace; it is found not only in *gladful*, *wonderful*, *blitheful*, but in the foreign *fruiteful* and *mercyful*. We see *adolescentior* Englished by *yonge-like* in Vol. II. p. 101. Orrmin had used the Superlative *innresst*; we now first find the other forms *overest*, *netherest*, *utterest*; this last is the Scandinavian *utarst*. An Adjective is used without a Substantive in Vol. II. p. 177; *þair worthi* translates *nobiles eorum*. *Molestus* is Englished by a new word, *hackande* (Vol. I. p. 105); hence, perhaps, our 'hacking cough.' *Fresh* takes the new meaning of *recens* in Vol. I.

[1] This word is still alive in the North. Burke, who was often a guest in Yorkshire, says, in his great speech before losing the Bristol election, that he will never throw the people any creature to torment, 'no, not so much as a kitling.'

[2] I have taken this from Wedgwood, and much besides.

p. 273. What was *slider* in the South was *sliper* in the North; and we have followed the latter form for *lubricus*. The Definite Article was dropped before an Adjective, as in our 'handsome is that handsome does;' in Vol. I. p. 23, *peccator* is Englished by *sinful*, no longer by *se synfulla*.

As to Pronouns: the old *mildsa min* becomes *haf mercy of me*, Vol. I. p. 71. We find *ye* wrongly used as the Dative, *I sall telle al yhe* (Vol. I. p. 205). *In his self* translates *in semel ipso*, Vol. I. p. 109; while *ipsi inciderunt* becomes *felle þam self*, Vol. I. p. 181, where the Dative is used as a Nominative. We see an effort made after a new idiom in Vol. I. p. 265; *non erat qui sepeliret* is there turned into *was it nane þat walde biri*. But this *it* could never drive out the old *there*. A wholly new form of Pronouns is found in this Psalter. We have seen that Orrmin, first of all our writers, used *þat*, the old Neuter article, to translate *ille*; and its Plural *þâ*, to translate *illi*. This *þâ* is still to be found in Scotland (Scott talks of *thae loons*): it held its ground in Southern England as þo down to 1530. The old Dative of this, *þâm*, is still in use among our lower orders; as, 'look at *them* lads.' But in Yorkshire, about 1250, *þas*, our *those*, a confusion with the old Plural of *þes* (hic), began to be used for *þâ*.[1] Vol. I. p. 243: 'Superbia eorum qui te oderunt,' is translated *pride of þas þat þe hates*; and many such instances could be given. The writer has elsewhere *þese*, as in the Essex Homilies, to translate the Latin *hi*.

[1] Hampole, ninety years later, has the same corruption, *þas* for *þâ*.

In this Psalter we see the beginning of the corruptions embodied in the phrase *those who speak*; a phrase which often with us replaces the rightful *they that speak*, the Old English *þâ þe.*[1]

There are new Relative forms, which took a long time to find their way to the South; as *nane es whilke sauſe mas*; *yhe whilk standes* (qui statis), *fest*, *God*, *þat whilke þou wroght*. Orrmin had forms something like these Yorkshire phrases; the Relative Nominative *who* was not commonly used in the South until the Reformation; we do not find in our Bible *he who* or *he which*; in our every-day talk we almost always make the old *that* our Relative. We now see the new forms *whatkins*, *nakin*, a sure mark of the North; the *everilk of* Peterborough now becomes *everilkane*; *capita multa* (Vol. II. p. 53) is Englished by *hevedes of mani-ane*.

Among the Numerals is found *four-skore*.

In Verbs: we see the Danish *mon* employed in Orrmin's sense of futurity; not to translate *oportet*, as has been the usage of the North since 1440. The Strong Verbs *delve*, *cleave*, *swepe*, and *wepe* take Weak Perfects, a process which unluckily has always been going on in England; *helped* replaces the true *holpen*, which lingers in our Prayer-book. On the other hand, there is some-

[1] Addison, in his *Humble Petition of 'Who' and 'Which,'* makes these Relatives complain of the Jack Sprat *That*, their supplanter. He is wrong: *That* is the true Old English Relative, representing *þe*; the others are Thirteenth Century upstarts. It is curious that Yorkshire had far more influence than Kent upon the language of the capital in 1520. If we wish to be correct, we should translate 'qui amant' by *they that love*: *those who love* can date no higher than 1250.

times an attempt to turn a Weak Perfect into a Strong one; as *þou herd*, where the older version has the right *þu geherdes*. We see the Participial idiom *þou made dome herd* in Vol. I. p. 247. The Participle is employed like an Adjective at Vol. II. p. 161, *ten-strenged sautre* (psalterium decem cordarum). The Active Participle had always been used absolutely, as *him speaking*; this usage is now extended to the Passive; at Vol. II. p. 131, we hear that God smote the firstborn of Egypt; *noght ane left þare*. This sentence, standing by itself, can hardly be anything else than the Passive Participle absolute. In the English of 1000, *heom gesprecenum* stands for the Active Participle absolute. Orrmin's change from the Active to the Passive Infinitive is seen in Vol. II. p. 75; *mandasti mandata tua custodiri* is Englished by *þou bade þine bodes to be yhemed*; in the version made four hundred years earlier the *custodiri* was translated by the Active *haldan*. The constant confusion between the Participle and other English forms is seen in Vol. II. p. 99; *tempus faciendi* becomes *time of makande*. A Substantive could be turned into a Verb, as Shakespere often does; *qui dominatur* is translated by *þat laverdes*; the like happens to a Comparative Adjective, *I betred* (prævalui); and to a Preposition, for we find *to under* (subdere), like Dr. Johnson's *I downed him*. In Vol. I. p. 267 a new meaning is given to *spill*; what of old was *blod is agoten* (effusus) now becomes *blode es spilte*. One of the puzzles in our language is, how ever could the Old English *geotan* be supplanted by the Celtic *pour*; this took place about 1500. The former word survives in the Lincoln *goyts*,

gowts, or canals, and in the *Gut*, well known to Oxford oarsmen. The old meaning of *spill* (perdere) is kept in our corrupt word *spoil*. *Sceawian* had changed its meaning in 1160 from *videre* to *monstrare*; it now further became *apparere*, at least in the North; in Vol. I. p. 41 we find *apparebo* translated *I sal schewe*. Lady Nairne, in a letter to her brother, about 1790, talks of his *showing away* in London. We see the sense of *shunt* given for the first time to *scunian*. *Expulsi sunt* (Vol. I. p. 291) is translated *ere out-schouned*; the word, with a *t* at the end, had already been used in Salop, with a different shade of meaning. In Vol. II. p. 33, in translating *quassatio cessavit*, the Verb *lefte* is employed; we should say *left off*. We find both *I mined of* (memor fui), and also *I sal myne þare names* (memor ero nominum), Vol. I. p. 37. In Vol. I. p. 107, *think* becomes transitive; *swikedomes ware þai thinkand*. The old Weak Verb *bisencte* (demersit) is turned into the Strong *sanke*, Vol. I. p. 215, a corruption still kept by us. This confusion of two Verbs has appeared already. *Tui inimici* becomes *þine ille-willand*, Vol. I. p. 59, something like 'the Queen's traitors.'

Many new Adverbial forms appear, such as *for evermare*, *fra fer* (a longè) *al at ones*, *in mides of*, *downrighte*, *yhates of ai* (portæ æternales). The old *swe swe* (sicut) now becomes *als it ware*, Vol. II. p. 109. The old *swipe* gives way to *mikel* in Vol. I. p. 13; *lytel nu get* (pusillum adhuc) becomes *yit a littel*, Vol. I. p. 113. When we say that a man *turns up*, we imply that he has been missed and *reappears*; in Vol. I. p. 15 *regredere* is Englished by *torne upe*. It is curious to mark the

various compounds of *wil* employed at different times to translate *voluntarié*. This about the year 850 was *wil-sumlice*; about 1250 it was *willi*; in a rather later copy of the Psalter it was *wilfulli*; we should now say *willingly*. A new phrase crops up to translate *forsitan*; this is *thurgh hap* (Vol. II. p. 115); it is the forerunner of our mongrel *perhaps*.

As to Prepositions: we have already seen *intil* at p. 233 of my work; we now first light upon *until*, which translates *ad*, (Vol. I. p. 79); also *usque in*, (Vol. I. p. 189); *until that* is in page 315. *Unto* is seen for the first time in England; *multis* is Englished by *unto mani*, Vol. I. p. 225. The Gothic has *und halba* (St. Mark vi. 23), where Tyndale has *unto the halfe*. In Vol. II. 113, *ad pacem* is translated by *at pais*; of old, *on* would have been used.

We see that the bard of 1250 was not so good a Latin scholar as the former poet of 850; *euge* is now translated, not by the earlier *wel þe*, but by *wa*, (Vol. I. p. 107).

There are many Scandinavian words now found for the first time; as,

Brunstan (brimstone), from the Icelandic *brennistein*.
Dreg, from the Icelandic *dregg* (sediment).
Gnaist (gnash), from the Norse *gnista*.
Kitling, from the Norse *ketlingr*.
Lurke, from the Norse *lurke*.
Molbery, from the Swedish *mulbaer*.[1]
Slaghter, from the Norse *slátr*.

[1] The Old English for this was *mar-beam*.

Scalp, from the Norse *skal* (shell).
Sculke, from the Danish *skulke*.
Snub, from the Norse *snubba* (cut short).
Hauk, from the Icelandic *haukr*.

It is from this last, not from the Old English *heafoc*, that our word for *accipiter* comes; in the same way we have preferred the Scandinavian *slâtr* (cædes) to the Old English *slæge*. A glance at Stratmann's Dictionary will show that the South held to the Old English forms long after the Scandinavian forms, now used by us, had appeared in the North. In our verb *whiten*, found in this Psalter, we follow the Icelandic *hvitna*, not the Old English *hwîtian*. The Plural of *hand* (manus) in this Psalter is *hend*, following the Scandinavian form *hendr*. The Old English word for *stultus* used to be *dysig*; this last is found with a new meaning in a Northern writer ninety years later, and in the Present Psalter *insipiens* is translated by *fule* (Vol. I. p. 169), pronounced as we pronounce the word now. This may come from the Icelandic *fol*, though the French *fol* is seen in the Ancren Riwle. What Orrmin called *lefften* (elevare) now gets our sound *lift*, the Icelandic *lypta*, Vol. I. p. 195. The Icelandic *titt* (celeriter) appears here as *tite*; it is peculiar to Northern England, and stamps Gower, one of those who used it, as a Northern man.

We see *snere*, akin to the Dutch *snarren*, to grumble; *stuble* (stipula), related to the Dutch *stoppel*. In Vol. II. p. 53 *conquassare* is translated in three different manuscripts by *squat*, *squacche*, *swacche* (our *squash*), all akin to the Dutch *quassen*. The Adjective *snert* answers to *acerbus*, as before; it takes also a new meaning, for in

I. 211 *prosperum iter* is Englished by *smart wai*: this is the source of the Adjective we apply to dress. We see *yles* for *insulæ*; the Psalter being a most Teutonic work, let us hope that our *isle* is not derived from the French, but that it is akin to the High German *isila*. In the more modern text of Layamon, *eit-londe* is turned into *ilond*. *Scald* (urere) is in Vol. II. pp. 111, 115; the poet sometimes translates the Noun *torrens* by *scalding*! The Noun *chimbes* is used where *cymbalan* had been used 400 years earlier, Vol. II. p. 179, and they are said to *ring*. Mr. Wedgwood affirms that the word is Finnish, and that it is an imitation of a clear sound. Scott employs the phrase, 'God *sain* them!' and the Verb is used in Germany; in Vol. I. p. 195, *benedicere* is Englished by *saine*; the old *segnian* was preserved in the North alone, as was the case with many other old words. In Vol. I. p. 79, *lacus* is Englished by *flosche*; *fluse* in Danish is 'to flow with violence.'

The poet sticks as closely as he can to the Latin he is translating. Thus *mansuetus* is always *hand-tame*, *legislator* is *lagh-berer*. Sometimes the Latin word is imitated, as where *benignitas* is Englished by *betternes*, Vol. I. p. 167; *malitia* is turned into *malloc*, *insuper* becomes *in-over*, I. p. 37; the Scandinavian *inn yfir* has the meaning of *over*. Two of Layamon's new words reappear; *noke* and the Celtic Verb *cut*.

There is the Latin *oli*, and also the French form *oyle*; thus *o* and the newer *oy* must both have been sounded by Yorkshire mouths in 1250; the old *ele-treow* was now replaced by *olive*, *tor* by *tour*. There is the old *wine-yherde* and the new *vinyhe* for *vinea*; *lioun* replaces *leon*.

Fantom comes pretty often, and *straite* (straiten) Englishes *constringere* (Vol. I. p. 94). When *captivitas* is translated *wrecchednesse* (Vol. I. p. 211), we see that the word *caitiff* had already begun to take root in our land. In p. 315 *finxit* improperly becomes *feinyhes* (feigns). *Cry* was becoming very common; *clamare* is turned by *make crie*, II. p. 103. The old *yl* (porcupine) made way for the French *irchon* at II. p. 17. The obsolete French *feres* (decet) so often found in Scotch law papers, is to be seen in Vol. I. p. 95. A few other French words appear, such as *fruitefull*, *richesses*; the last being the usual translation of *divitiæ*, and thus the Plural form of our word is accounted for. The older *pais* is sometimes turned into *peas* (pax). The word *ire* is used to translate the Latin *ira*; our kindred word *irre*, written by Alfred, cannot have died out at this time: the Poet would think the Latin form more dignified than the Old English. So after all we may hope that our *ire* is from a Teutonic, and not from a Latin source. The word *majestas* (I. p. 233), is Englished by an ingenious compound, *mastehede*. It is curious that some old French words, such as *mavis* and *leal*, linger in the North, after having been dropped by the South.

About the year 1260 Layamon's old poem was turned into the English of the day; many Teutonic words of 1205 are dropped, being no longer understood; and some new French words are found. We may guess at the place where the new version was drawn up: it could not have been far from the Great Sundering Line, as both Northern and Southern forms are mingled; *urnen* (currere), *mochel*, *soch*, *woch*, *ech one*, the old Genitive

Plural *Scottene* (Scotorum), the Past Participle *ago*, and the new *þilk*, point to the South; while *alse* (sicut), *are* (sunt), *þaie* (illi), *kinesman*, *comes* (venit), and *bigge* (emere) point to the North. The transcriber's home may perhaps be fixed in the Northern corner of Hertfordshire; the forms *ȝier* (annus) and *sipe* (navis) show that he belongs to the neighbourhood of Essex; he uses *sal* for our *shall*. The East Midland forms are seen to be encroaching on the South, and to be establishing themselves near London; we have in this Version a foreshadowing of Sir John Mandeville a hundred years later. There is a change in the Vowels: Layamon had turned the old Perfect *sæt* (sedit) into *set*; the transcriber has *sat*, our form. *O* is always replacing Layamon's *a*, as in *þoh*, *shon* (micavit), *rope*, *ohnede* (possidebat); *o* replaces *u* in *wont*, *love*, *sholder*, *wonder*, *worþ*, *morn* (lugere), *worse*; we see *womman*, the source of the first syllable of our form which stands for both the Dorsetshire Singular *wumman*, and the Northamptonshire Plural *wimmen*. The French *ou* is much used, as *þou* for *þu*. The *bemen* (tubæ) of the First Text is turned into *bumes*; we keep this sound in our *boom*.

As to Consonants: the *h* is misused; it is wrongly prefixed in *ham* and *hich*, and wrongly docked in *alf*. *Dæge* is softened into *daiye*, and the old guttural *brohte* (tulit) becomes *brofte* and *broþte*; four hundred years later, Bunyan, who came from the same neighbourhood, pronounced *daughter* as *dafter*, making it rime with *after*. An *s* is added to *henne*, for *hennes* (hence) is found. An *l* is inserted, as *loverdling*, our *lordling*. A *t* is added, for we light on *aȝenest* (contra) and *bitwixte*.

The former was repeated a hundred years later by Mandeville, a native of Hertfordshire.

There are some new forms, such as *ich bid noþing of his*; the three last words, a double Genitive, replace *nanne maðmes*, Vol. I. p. 136. The new Relative is coming in; where the First Text has *moni wif þe*, the Second Text has *many wimmen bi woche*, I. p. 113. The Plural of the Old Article was written *þa* by Orrmin and *þeo* by Layamon; it now becomes our *þaie þat* (illi qui). In *they that say, they* is Old English; in *they say, they* is Scandinavian; both *they* and *þai* are found in this Second Text of Layamon. The *ever* is added to *where* in indirect questions; they wondered *ware evere . . . soch heved were ikenned*, III. p. 37; this is not in the First Text. There is the phrase, *for ene and for evere*, II. p. 435; hence our 'once for all.'

There are some new constructions of Prepositions: *siþþe* (since) had never hitherto been employed before Nouns; but we see in I. p. 177 *suþþe þe ilke time*; in the First Text *wes* followed the *suþþe*; the Scandinavians employed *sixt* as a Preposition. *He nom ræd æt his monnen* was in the First Text, I. p. 70; this use of *at* was beginning to go out, at least in the South; and *of* is now substituted for it. There is also *in his dazes* for the former *an his dœies*, I. p. 259.

The Icelandic *sveipa* with its Weak Perfect *sveipta* is now confused with the Old English *swâpan*, which had the Strong Perfect *sweop* (swoop). *Beofs to him swapte*, III. p. 65; it is no longer *swipte*, as in the First Text. Our word *leg* (crus) is now seen for the first

time; it comes from the Scandinavian *leggr*, a stem; this soon encroached on the Old English *shank*. *Cloke* (chlamys), which is found here, is a Celtic word. The French *tumbe* (tumulus), the sound of which we still keep, replaces the *tunne* of the First Text, I. p. 259. The French Verb *use* comes in the phrase *hii usede þat craft*, II. 598.

We owe a great deal to the men who, between 1240 and 1440, drew up the many manuscript collections of English poems that still exist, taken from various sources by each compiler. The writer who copied many lays into what is now called The Jesus Manuscript, ranged over at least one hundred and forty years. In one piece of his, professing to give a list of the English Bishopricks, there is no mention of Ely; hence the original must have been set down soon after the year 1100. In another piece in the same collection, mention is made of *Saint* Edmund, the Archbishop; this fixes the date of the poem as not much earlier than the year 1250. Most of these pieces, printed in 'An Old English Miscellany' (Early English Text Society), seem to me to have been compiled at various dates between 1220 and 1260; for the proportion of obsolete English in them varies much. I have already glanced at the older pieces; see p. 310 of this book. The Southern element is well marked, when we find *ago* and *vuledе* (secutus est); there is the *botte* (fustis) used by Layamon and in the Ancren Riwle, not the *batte* of the Hertfordshire transcriber of Layamon. On the other hand, *wymmon*, not *wumman*, is employed. Two very old forms are now seen for almost the last time; *erne morewe* (p. 45), and *syndon* sunt, (p. 145). The last

comes in a transcript of a prose piece drawn up soon after the year 1100, and was very likely not understood. The transcriber had been used to see *au* employed to express the broad *a* in French words; this he now transfers to Old English, writing *Engelaunde* and *Grauntebrugge*, as well as *Mauuleleyne*; our French way of pronouncing *Magdalen* College is well known; our pronunciation of *baume* (balm) and *aunt* is a relic of this time. We find at p. 155 the proper name *Hug'*, not *Hugo*. At p. 145, we see how the names of our English shires and towns had been pared down by 1260; there are *Kanterbury* and *Cumberlond*; the English *Dunholm* was still preferred to the French *Duresme*, which we have followed since 1300. But *Scrobscir* was written *Slobschire*, whence comes our *Salop*; a curious instance of the interchange between *r* and *l*. There is much paring of letters in common words; *forðward* becomes *forward*, p. 42; *on two* is turned into *a to*, p. 50. An *s* is added to *beside*, as in Layamon; and *bisides* is used as an Adverb in p. 149. *Hond* and *long* rime with each other in p. 51. In p. 43, *more bold* is used for the true English *bolder*, to suit the rime. As in the second copy of Layamon, *pilke* appears; and *hwat evere* Englishes *quodcunque* (p. 52); the *swa* that should have come in the middle of the word is dropped. We find *half* taking the Numeral *one* before it; *on half hundred* (p. 146). It is easy to see how an Adverb becomes changed into a Preposition, from the phrase *blod orn adun of hym* (p. 42); all that is wanted is to drop the *of*. In p. 45 we see *siker* used as an Adverb; *certè*. There are phrases like *on after on* (p. 40); *make* (two) *to one*

(p. 145); *neyh hire heorte* (p. 55). The Latin *vix* had been hitherto Englished by *uneape*; but another phrase is seen in p. 42: *nedde he bute iseyd*; this is the parent of the Yorkshire *nobbut*.

We find at p. 57 the English *to* (in Latin *dis*) set before the French Verb *partir*; *to-party ut of lyve*. This paved the way for *depart* (sunder); the sense which lingered on in England until about 1660, when the old form in our Marriage Service, 'till death us depart,' was altered into 'till death us do part.'

We must glance at the famous English Proclamation of Henry the Third in 1259; no English deed had issued from the Court, so far as is known, for about a hundred years before this time.[1] The language used is such as never was spoken; it is that of some French clerk basing his English upon old-fashioned deeds; thus he has met with the ancient *agen* (debent), and therefore thinks that *ogen* will be understood in Huntingdonshire; he uses the obsolete diphthong *æ*, as in *dæl* (pars); his *loande* (terra) is a compromise between Northern and Southern English. The proper name *James*, not the old *Jame*, now appears; and also *Perres* (Piers, Petrus). The Verb *agan* (debere) now governs an Accusative; *þe treowþe þæt heo us ogen*; hence our 'owe much to.' This seems to be a French idiom, and marks the compiler's nationality. I may here observe that no word in the English tongue has a more curious history than the

[1] I take the Proclamation from Stubbs, *Documents on English History*, p. 387.

old *agan* (owe). It is the first English word that we can clearly see changing its meaning, as I have shown in p. 110 of this book. It now in 1259 again changes its construction by taking an Accusative (just as the old *sceal* did); and this is the work of a foreigner. One more, in 1455 it stands out as being the first word, I think, that paved the way for the disastrous confusion between the Verbal Noun and the Active Participle; in Fastolf's claims against the Crown (Gairdner's 'Paston Letters,' I. 364), we read, that money *ys owyng* to the knight aforesaid. Here the *in* or *on* is dropped that should have come before the Verbal Noun, and the *owyng* therefore seems, most deceptively, to be a Participle. We do not now use the rightful 'a storm is *a* (in) brewing,' but say 'a storm is brewing;' hence we naturally come to think that *brew* is an Intransitive Verb.[1] Lord Macaulay, as we read in his Life, insisted on saying, 'the tea is *a making*'; I only wish that he had put this fine old idiom into his 'History.'[2] The newfangled *tea is being made*, or any such-like construction, was not in vogue until about 1770. The *owing* did not stop here, but gave birth to a new English version of the Latin Preposition *ob*; *owing to*; this last is a rather late comer. Such are the various meanings and constructions that may be linked to one

[1] Hood, about 1840, writes anent Miss Kilmansegge: 'she is now screwing in' (being buried). See Dilke's *Papers of a Critic*, p. 56.

[2] His biographer prints *a-making*, which is like printing 'bona *in-transitu*.' Mr. Earle (*English Philology*, 486) calls attention to the idiom used by all classes in Yorkshire: 'I want the tea màking.' I suspect that this stands for, 'I want the tea to be in making.'

Verb, within the space of about 850 years; we have here a fine example of the freedom of the English tongue.

For the Southern English of 1260 we must have recourse to the Harleian Manuscript drawn up in Herefordshire about 1315, which takes in the works of the foregoing fifty years and more. We may guess at their date, by reckoning the obsolete Teutonic and the French contained in each piece.[1] The Proverbs of Hending, (Kemble, 'Anglo-Saxon Dialogues,' Ælfric Society, Part III., 270), and some of Wright's Specimens of Lyric Poetry (Percy Society), seem to belong to 1260. The Vowel *a* replaces *e*, as *mar* for *merren*; this is later found in Salop. The Northern *fule* (stultus) is found as well as the Southern *fol*; the old *cymlic* is seen as *comely* (Lyric Poems, p. 39); *ue* replaces *eo*, as *hue* and *luen* for *heo* (illa) and *beon* (sunt). Consonants are cast out of the middle of a word, for *hehste*, *levedy*, become *hest*, *ledy*, the last word being pronounced as it is now; *gebroht* is pared down to *broht*; the *d* is clipped, as *bende* (bent) for the old *bended*; on the other hand, the *d* appears at the end of *wicked*, as in Yorkshire; *likes* sometimes stands for *likep*. The old *dayes-eges* had not as yet been cut down to *daisies*.

As to Substantives: Orrmin's *gō his gate* is repeated. A drunkard, when pledging his friends, is said to *do uch mon ryht* (Hending, p. 279); this phrase was used long afterwards by Master Silence in his cups. The terseness of our English comes out in a proverb like

[1] The proportion of these in the Thirteenth Century may be found in the Table at the end of my Seventh Chapter.

lyht chep, lupere ȝeldes (Hending, p. 277); here there is no Verb at all; this answers to our *high interest, bad security.*

Among other Adjectives, the poet is fond of *lylie-whyt*, applied to a lady; this kind of compound comes down from the earliest times. Shakespere's turn of phrase, *you were best go*, is foreshadowed in Hending's advice (p. 279), *betere were a rich mon for te spouse.* At p. 30 of the Lyric Poetry comes *burde on of the best*; we should now put the Substantive, not first, but last.

Among Verbs, we remark *must* used in the Dorsetshire sense of *oportet*; the *do* in *do lystne me* reminds us of the Ancren Riwle. The Old English idiom in *fair to see* is now further extended; in Hending, p. 277, we read *shulde non be me ylyche to be god*; that is, 'in being good.' The French *à* had most likely some influence here. There is a new idiom of the Past Participle, coming perhaps from the Latin; *betere is appel yȝeve þen y-ete* (p. 273); it is odd that the last Participle stands without any Noun. *Spillan* (spoil) had hitherto been Transitive; at p. 271, it becomes Neuter. We see for the first time our form *bistad* (bestead): *so hit wes bistad* (constitutum), Lyric Poems, p. 41. Orrmin had used the Verb *undertake* in the sense of *reprehendere*; it now first gets the meaning of *suscipere*, p. 41.

In Adverbs: Layamon's *godliche* (pulchrè) is now pared down to *godly* (p. 38); and this is found afterwards in Salop; we shall soon see other examples of the confusion thus created between the Adjective and the Adverb. The Adverb *fayre* gets a new meaning in Hending's Poems, p. 278; we there read, *abyde fayre*

and stille; something like Cowper's *fair and softly*; here there is a change of meaning from *pulcher* to *tranquillus.*

The *of* had followed *cystig* (prodigus) in Orrmin; it here follows *fre*, when that Adjective keeps its early meaning *potens*; a man *makeþ him fre of my god*, Hending, p. 277, 'master of my goods;' we now say 'makes free with' &c. At p. 29 of the Lyric Poems, we see Orrmin's contraction of *gelang* to *long*; *my lyf is long on the.* At p. 42, *away* is used as an Interjection, like the French *avaunt.*

The foreign Verb *servir* now gets the sense of *tractare*, that is now so common with us; *he þat me ene serveþ so*, Hending, p. 276.

In the same Herefordshire manuscript is the famous ballad on the Battle of Lewes, in 1264.[1] It may have been the work of some Londoner, for we see that most unusual word *swyvyng*, which is not repeated, I think, until Chaucer wrote. We here find the word *bost* (our *boast*), which is Celtic. We have already seen the word *shrew*; this now becomes *shreward*, applied to the King's son; the *ard* here is a short-lived attempt at an imitation of the French endings, such as *cou-ard. Sire* is prefixed to a proper name, as *Sir Edward.* There is one great change; French forms have always been found convenient to lighten the load thrown on our English Prepositions; and this has gone on for the last six hundred years; *for* had many meanings, and one of these is now laid upon the French *maugre*, for we find *maugre Wyndesore.*

[1] *Political Songs* (Camden Society), p. 69.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1270.)

The following specimen must have been written much about the time that King Henry the Third ended his worthless life, if we may judge by internal evidence. It was transcribed by a Herefordshire man about forty years later. Of the sixty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs contained in it, one alone, *pray*, is French; and of the other fifty-nine, only three or four have dropped out of our speech. In the Poems of 1280 we shall find a larger proportion of French than in this elegant lay, which may be set down to 1270. The writer seems to have dwelt at Huntingdon, or somewhere near, that town being almost equidistant from London and the three other places mentioned in the fifth stanza. The prefix to the Past Participle is not wholly dropped; and this is perhaps a token that the lay was written not far to the South of the Great Sundering Line. The Third Person Singular of the Present Tense ends is *es*, and not in the Southern *eth*. The Plural of the same Tense ends in the Midland *en*. We find ourselves speedily drawing near the time when English verse was written such as might readily be understood six hundred years after it was composed.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(A.D. 1270.)

When the nyhtegale singes, the wodes waxen grene,
Lef ant gras ant blosme springs in Averyl, y wene,

Ant love is to myn herte gon with one [a] spere so kene
Nyht ant day my blod hit drynkes, myn herte deth me tene.[b]

[a] a
[b] harm

Ich have loved al this ȝer, that y may love na more,
Ich have siked moni syk,[c] lemmon, for thin ore;[d]
Me nis love never the ner, ant that me reweth sore,
Suete lemmon, thench on me, ich have loved the ȝore.[e]

[c] sigh
[d] mercy
[e] long

Suete lemmon, y preye the of love one speche,
Whil y lyve in world so wyde other nulle y[f] seche;
With thy love, my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche,[g]
A suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche.

[f] I will not
[g] increase

Suete lemmon, y preȝe the of a love bene;[h]
Yef thou me lovest, ase men says, lemmon, as y wene,
Ant ȝef hit thi wille be, thou loke that hit be sene,
So muchel y thenke upon the, that al y waxe grene.

[h] boon

Bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northamptoun ant Lounde,
Ne wot y non so fayr a may as y go fore y-bounde;
Suete lemmon, y preȝe the thou lovie me a stounde,[i]
Y wole mone my song on wham that hit ys on[k] y-long.[l]

[i] while
[k] along of

I have already mentioned the Proverbs of Hending; from this I give some of the homely bywords of the time when Englishmen were drawing their swords upon each other at Lewes and Evesham.

God biginning makeþ god endyng.
Wyt ant wysdom is god warysoun.

---

[l] *Percy Society*, vol. IV. p. 92. This is a transcript made by a Herefordshire man, who must have altered *and* into *ant*, *nill* into *nulle*, *kis* into *cos*, &c.

Betere is eyesor þen al blynd.
Wel fyþt þat wel flyþ.
Sottes bolt is sone shote.
Tel þou never þy fo þat þy fot akeþ.
Betere is appel y-geve þen y-ete.
Gredy is þe godles.
When þe coppe is follest, þenne ber hire feyrest.
Under boske (bush) shal men weder abide.
When þe bale is hest, þenne is þe bote nest.
highest *remedy nighest*
Brend child fur dredeþ.
Fer from eze, fer from herte.
Of unboht hude men kerveþ brod þong.
hide
Dere is boht þe hony þat is licked of þe þorne.
Ofte rap reweþ.
haste
Ever out comeþ evel sponne web.
Hope of long lyf gyleþ mony god wyf.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1270.)

A vox gon out of the wode go,
Afingret so, that him wes wo;
He nes nevere in none wise
Afingret erour half so swithe.
He ne hoeld nouther wey ne strete,
For him wes loth men to mete.
Him were levere meten one hen,
Then half an oundred wimmen.
He strok swithe over al,
So that he of-sei ane wal.
Withinne the walle wes on hous,
The wox wes thider swithe wous,
For he thohute his hounger aquenche,
Other mid mete, other mid drunche.

Abouten he biheld wel zerne,
Tho eroust bigon the vox to erne.[1]

This, evidently a translation from a French tale, is preserved in the Digby Manuscript, compiled rather later, about 1290. The Southern dialect is well marked in the forms *thilke*, *ago*, *erne* (currere), *dest* (facis), *sugge* (dico), the Accusative *thene*, and the Genitive Plural *widewene*, which at once reminds us of the kindred Latin *viduarum*, root, ending, and all. On the other hand, the Northern *I have* is encroaching on the Southern *ich habbe*, for both alike are found; and the form *srift*, not *shrift*, suggests that the piece was compiled not far from Essex; perhaps, like Layamon's Second Text, in Hertfordshire.

At p. 65 we find *isiist thou* (vides), pronounced as we sound the word now. The *o* is encroaching on the old *a*; at p. 59 we see both *anne flok* and *on kok* in one couplet; *shame* becomes *shome*. The *o* is also encroaching on the *u*; *wulf* is turned into *wolf*, though we still keep the right old sound; we find, *I was woned* (solebam) at p. 61. As to Consonants, the guttural sound at the end of a word was evidently dying out about this time, all through the South of England; we find *lou* (risit), *inou* (satis), and *dou* for the Old English *dah*, our *dough*. Layamon's *broute* (tulit) is here repeated; the *h* should have come in the middle. The *d* is cast out, for *godsib* becomes *gossip*, p. 61. The *f* is cast out, for we see the old *hofthurst* at p. 67, and the new *athurst* at p. 60; the latter form lingers in our Bible.

[1] Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. I. p. 58.

Among the Pronouns, we remark the Accusative *ou* (vos) used for the Nominative *ge*, a curious instance of the bad grammar that was flooding England; *togedere ou ley* (jacebatis), p. 65. The Indefinite *hit* is used very freely now; *hit com to the time, that* &c. (p. 66); the *hit* also refers to a past sentence; 'I have bled the hens, *and the, chauntecler, hit wolde don goed* (p. 59).

We see *half* prefixed to Adverbs; *afingret half so swithe* (p. 58).

In Verbs: we see the progress of changes that were at work all over England; such a form as *might have been* had been very rare hitherto, but was now freely used. The old Imperative had been *flee thou*; this was changed into *thou fle* (p. 59); we still say, 'you go there.' The French was influencing our Verbs; the fox in his trouble says (p. 61), *nou of me i-don hit hiis*, (actum est de me). Again, repetition by A. of B.'s previous words was something quite new in English. '*Sei wat I shal do*,' says the wolf. '*Do? quod the vox*,' &c. (p. 65). In the next page comes the wolf's question, '*Weder wolt thou?*' '*Weder ich wille? the vox sede.*' At p. 59 we learn that five hens *make* a flock.

As to Prepositions: *for* in the sense of *as* might follow the Verb *hold* in the oldest English; this usage is now extended to *know*; *the vox hine i-kneu wel for his kun* (kinsman). This *for* is now, in one of its senses, elbowed out by *mid* (with); since we find—

> Wat *mid* serewe, and *mid* drede,
> Al his thurst him over-hede.[1]

[1] Only the other day, I heard a man say, 'I cannot see, *with* (ob) the smoke.'

This *with* is now always tacked on to our partitive use of *what*: 'what with one thing, what with another,' &c.

The poem we have just gone through is unmistakeably a translation from the French. The old French names of the animals, renowned in fable, are brought into England: the cock is Sire Chauntecler; the wolf is Sigrim (Isegrim); the fox is Reneuard. We now first hear in English of the *freren* or *friars*. Some say that the French ending in *es* had great influence in making England adopt *es* for the Plural ending of all her Nouns; so far is this from the truth, that in the present piece the poet goes out of his way to alter the French *freres* into *freren*, the old Plural form to which Southern England steadily clung. The French oath *i faie* (i'faith), which is hardly extinct even now, may be seen at p. 64. Every second line in the poem rimes with the line before it, until we come to the end; then three lines end in the same rime; a favourite usage of Dryden's is here foreshadowed.

In the Harleian Manuscript (Percy Society), mentioned at p. 338 of my book, there are Herefordshire poems which seem to belong to 1270.[1] They cannot have been compiled far to the South of the Great Line, for we see the Northern forms *are*, *gray*, *he ledes*, *he gos*, *made* (factum), also the Midland *we han*.* The poet was used to express the broad French *a* in the usual way, as *romaunz*; indeed his *baum* is still pronounced much as he wrote it, though we spell it *balm*. The *au* might stand

[1] In trying to determine the age of these poems, I look most to the proportion of French words in an Alliterative piece; here the poet always strives to be as Teutonic as he can.

for either the broad *a* or the French *ou*; this we know, by seeing the French *reaume* or *royaume* appear in later English pieces, sometimes as *reame*, sometimes as *rewme*. He employs the *au* for English words, writing *fauning* (p. 23), which is different from the *vawenunge* of the Ancren Riwle; *unitowen* becomes *untoun* (p. 32). The old *ærest* (primum) is cut down to *erst*; and *swan* (cygnus) is written *swon*, which comes near our pronunciation of the word. *Seolc* becomes *sylk* (silk). There is much clipping of Consonants; *Ich haf* becomes *y ha* (p. 31); *hæfed* (caput) becomes *hed* (p. 34); and there is also *forhed*. *Liht* loses the guttural in the middle, and is written *lyt*, riming with *wyt* (p. 31). The old Participle *gewœtod* is in p. 30 pared down to *wet*. A form peculiar to the poet is *lossum*, standing for *lovesome* (amabilis); it comes often.

There are some new forms in Adjectives. At p. 97 comes the well-known *feyr ant fre*, here applied to the Virgin; this is repeated in the Tristrem of nearly the same date, and it has been kept alive to our day.[1] At p. 84 a sinful man is said to be *more than unwis*; at p. 24 *wyves wille* is called *ded wo*; hence comes our 'a dead loss.' There is one remarkable change of idiom; in 1260, a girl talks of women, and says that her lover will soon *vachen an newe* (capere novam). But a few years later, in a piece written about 1270, as I suppose, women are mentioned, and we then hear of *the feyrest on*; here the *one* is added, to avoid the repetition of the Substantive that has gone before.

[1] I refer to the fourth line of *Billy Taylor*: 'To a maiden fair and free.' *Free* here means *liberalis*, (ladylike). Burgoyne, in 1779, talked about 'the honour of an officer and the liberality of a gentleman.' See his *Life*, by Fonblanque, p. 227.

Coming to Verbs, we find *take hede*, and *hit doth me yod* (p. 83). At p. 28 we read, *betere is tholien then mournen*; we cannot help suspecting that this Infinitive gave rise to 'better is tholing than mourning;' the corruption of form took place a few years later. Again, at p. 50, the question is asked, *whet ys the beste bote? Bote heryen him*; this Infinitive *heryen* (laudare) looks very like the parent of some of our seeming Verbal Nouns. At p. 35, a girdle, as it is said, '*triketh to the to*;' hence comes *trickle*, a puzzling word as to its derivation.

The *al* prefixed is very common in these poems; at p. 23 we find for the first time *al thah* (quamvis); it took about ninety years to make its way to London.

We see the Danish *brag*, at p. 24, here used as an Adjective. At p. 32, *croune* is employed in a new sense, standing for a clerk's shaven head; in the Tristrem, rather later, the word stands for the top of any man's head. *Lele* (faithful) appears here; it seems later to have been wholly confined to the North of England. There is the woman's name *Alysoun* at p. 28.

The sixty years comprised in this Chapter are the unhappiest period in the whole of the English language, if we search through all the fourteen hundred years that separate the Beowulf from the Sigurd. Few indeed are the poems of this particular period; from 1220 to 1280, if we contrast them with the work done in the first twenty years of the Century, and also with the achievements of its last twenty years! As to prose, there is none at all, always excepting King Henry's Proclamation.

CHAPTER V.

MIDDLE ENGLISH—REPARATION.

(1280–1300.)

We had now, by 1280, tided over the worst; henceforward, England was never again to throw aside her own tongue; our ruined walls were to be repaired; we were to light our old candle, now burning very dimly, at the blazing French torch. The heedful reader will remark, in the English specimens that follow, an ever-increasing number of French words, wherewith the lost Teutonic was being replaced. We turn once more to

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1280.)

King Edward was now fastening his yoke upon Wales. The first Mercian poem of this time that I shall notice is the piece called The Harrowing of Hell, the earliest specimen of anything like an English dramatic work. It may have been written at Northampton or Bedford. The text has been settled (why did no Englishman take it in hand, and go the right way to work?) by Dr. Mall of Breslau. With true German

insight into philology, he has compared three different English transcripts: a Hertfordshire (?) one, of 1290; a Herefordshire one, of 1315; and a Northern one, of 1330. Again we see the Midland tokens; the Present Plural in *en*, the almost invariable disuse of the prefix to the Past Participle, the substitution of *noht* for *ne*, *have I* for *habbe ich*; there are *unto* and *renne* (currere), *he nam him*, like the later *he gat him*. The author wrote *kin* and *man*, not the Southern *kun* and *mon*, since the words are made to rime with *him* and *Abraham*. The old *a* is sometimes, but not always, replaced by *o*; the poet's rimes prove him to have written *strong*, not *strang*; he had both *ygan* and *ygon*, riming respectively with *Sathan* and *martirdom*. The Plural form *honden*, found in all the three manuscripts, and the absence of *are* (sunt), point to the Southern border of the Danelagh; at the same time, the Northern *wiþ* (cum) has driven out the Southern *mid*. *Thei* (illi) sometimes replaces *hi*; both *Ich* and *I* are found. There is a thoroughly Northern form; *he areu* (pitied) *hem*. The Midland form *þrist* (sitis) has been altered by all the three transcribers; the two Southern ones use *þurst*, something like our sound of the word: Dr. Mall, by the help of the rime, has here restored the true reading. *Ch* has replaced *c*, for *michel*, not *mikel*, is found in the Northern manuscript. The dialogue is most curious: Satan swears, *par ma fei*, like the soundest of Christians; and our Lord uses a metaphor taken from a game of hazard. The comic business, as in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, falls to a warder. The oath *God wot*, elsewhere *Goddot*, comes once more; and also the Danish

word *gate* (via), which never made its way into the South, except in the form *algates*.[1]

The fondness for new Verbal Nouns was coming down from the North; for at p. 31 we find *þi coming* instead of the rightful *cume* (adventus), which long lingered. The old terseness in the idiom of Pronouns is seen at p. 27; Christ talks of other people's property, and then says that Adam *wes boht wiþ min*; here no Noun is coupled with the Pronoun. The old *well nigh* is now supplanted by *almost*, p. 27; the Scotch still use the true old *mœst* (fere). As to Verbs: the Dorsetshire meaning of *oportet*, as applied to *moste*, was creeping up from the South; *alle mosten to helle te*, p. 21; here the Verb is in the past tense. The old Past Participle *iwiten* is changed; for at p. 23 we find *ich have wist* (known). A sad corruption, seen in the Alfred Proverbs, is now repeated; it is one of the few things that has escaped Dr. Mall's eye. The Second Person of the Perfect of the Strong Verb is brought down to the level of the Weak Verb. At p. 27 we see *hou mihtest þou*

[1] I give a specimen from page 33 of Dr. Mall's work. Abraham speaks:—

Louerd, Crist, ich it am,
Þat þou calledest Abraham;
Þou me seidest, þat of me
Shulde a god child boren be,
Þat ous shulde bringe of pine,
Me and wiþ me alle mine.
Þou art þe child, þou art þe man,
Þat wes boren of Abraham;
Do nou þat þou bihete me,
Bring me to hevene up wiþ þe.

The New English, as we see, is all but formed.

(potes); here Orrmin would have used *maht* or *miht* for the Verb; indeed the Northern transcriber fifty years later has altered it into *may*. In line 77, we see in the transcript of 1290,

Sunne ne *foundest* þou never non.

In line 189, the transcriber of 1315 writes—

Do nou þat þou *byhihtest* me.

It was many years before this corruption could take root; it is seldom found in Wickliffe, who tries to avoid translating *dedisti* by either the old *gave* or the new *gavest*, and commonly writes *didest give*.

At page 32, we find a line thus written in the transcript of 1290, 'we þi comaundement forleten;' in the transcript of 1315, this is 'we þin heste *dude* forleten.' If this latter represent the original of 1280 best, it is an early instance of a revived Auxiliary Verb, of which I shall give instances in the next Chapter.

Much ink was not long ago spent upon Byron's expression, 'there let him lay' (jaceat). The bard might have appealed to the transcript of 1315:

Sathanas, y bynde þe, her shalt þou *lay*
O þat come domesdai.—Page 30.

At p. 27 we read, *of oþer mannes þing make marchandise*; the French *faire* had most likely an influence here, and the idiom was now becoming common.

The Herefordshire manuscript of this piece translates *donec* by the Saxon *o þat*, where the other two manuscripts have the Anglian and Danish *til*. The Herefordshire

forms *haþ*, *losen*, and *buyþ* (emit), all smack of the West country; as also *folewed* (baptizavit), p. 35, a fine Old English Verb that had now died out of the South East, though it was well known in Gloucestershire down to 1520.[1]

Perhaps we may set down to this time the English Charters of Bury St. Edmund's in the form that they have come down to us. They fill many pages of Kemble's great work, from IV. p. 223 onwards; one of them, as we learn by a note in the margin, was read before the Barons of the Exchequer. I think that the date of transcription cannot be earlier than 1260, for we see the old *haude* (manus) written *haunde*, in the French way, VI. p. 199; and this comes twice. But there is also the form *squilk* (talis), VI. p. 11; nothing like this is to be found elsewhere until the Cursor Mundi, about 1290. We know from Domesday Book that the old *stow* (locus) was pronounced like the French *stou*; we now see a further change of form, for in VI. p. 12 is the form *staus* (loca); another proof that the *au* must sometimes have had the sound of the French *ou*. The Consonants of the old Charters transcribed have been much altered; we find *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *halpeni*, *þurgh*, *lewed*, *schal*, *sal*, *everi*, *his owen*, *govel*, *holy*, *so*, *I*, *no man*, *oni*, *richte*, *lent*. The town, which had sprung up around the great Abbey, is here called *Eadmundes biri*. We see the East Anglian change of þ into *d*, as in 1230; the form *livid* (vivit) is

[1] Tyndale, who knew nothing about what in his day was called *Saxon*, makes a stupendous mistake about the West-country priest's popular title *folcwer* or *volower*, deriving it from the Latin *volo*, which came into the Baptismal service!

in VI. p. 12. The guttural is being dropped, for *douter* comes as well as *douchter*; *u* is turned into the French form *ou*, as *Cnout*, *bour*. The *h* is wrongly prefixed; *ic han* (concedo) appears. The East Anglian *g* is in full use; as *get* (adhuc), *ginger* (junior). Some of the words transcribed could have been barely understood in 1280, such as *sinden* (sunt), *ic auchte* (habui), *wefod* (altare).

But the greatest Midland work of 1280 is the Lay of Havelok, edited by Mr. Skeat for the Early English Text Society. This is one of the many poems translated from the French about this particular time, when King Edward the First was welding his French-speaking nobles and his English yeomen into one redoubtable body, ready for any undertaking either at home or abroad. The poem, which belongs to the Mercian Danelagh, has come down to us in the hand of a Southern writer, transcribed within a few years of its compilation. This renowned Lincolnshire tale was most likely given to the world not far from that part of England where Orrmin had written eighty years earlier; the Havelok is certainly of near kin to another Lincolnshire poem, compiled in 1303. Mr. Garnett, in p. 75 of his 'Essays,' has suggested Derbyshire or Leicestershire as the birth-place of the author: Dr. Morris is in favour of a more Southern shire. We find the common East Midland marks: the Present Plural ending in *en*; the Past Participle oftenest without a prefix; *are* for the Latin *sunt*; *niman* for the Latin *ire*; and the oath *Goddot*, which is said to be of Danish birth.[1] But there is also a dash of the Northern

[1] It is spelt *Ioduth* (an interjection) in the old Danish rime-chronicle. See the Notes on the *Havelok*, p. 122.

dialect; the Second and Third Persons Singular of the Present tense, and the Second Person Plural of the Imperative, alike end in *es* now and then; a fashion that lingers in Scotland to this day. The Danish Active Participle in *ande* is also found, and Danish phrases like *thusgate*, *hethen*, *gar*, *leyke*, *until*, *gate* (via), *til*, *Yerk* (Eboracum). Orrmin's *munnde* has now led to *moun* or *mone*, which is almost the Scotch *maun*, as in line 840:

'I wene that we deye (die) *mone*.'

The poem was compiled to the East of Orrmin's shire, for his ȝho (the old *heo*) is now seen as *she* and *sho*; his *they* and *their* are sometimes met with, but have been often altered by the Southern transcriber into *hi* and *hir*. The Southern *thilk* (ille) is not found once in the whole poem. We now for the last time see the Old English Dual (this we must have brought from the Oxus) in the line 1882:

'Gripeth eþer unker a god tre.'
Grip each of you two a good tree.

This had of old been written *incer*. Strange tricks are played with the letter *h*. The letter *d* is dropped after liquids, for we find here *shel*, *hel*, *bihel*; and the Danes to this day have the same pronunciation. But such words as *ilc*, *swilk*, *mikel*, *hwilgate*, prove that our modern corruptions of these words had not as yet made their way far to the North of the Great Line; the Havelok shows us our Standard English almost formed, but something is still wanting.

There are Northern forms, which could never have been used in the South in Edwardian days; such as

sternes, intil, tinte, coupe, loupe, carle. The Plurals of Substantives end in *es*, not *en*; and to this there are hardly any exceptions. The Northern *wip* has driven out the Southern *mid.*

There appear again many forms which we saw fifty years earlier in that other East Midland work, the Genesis and Exodus of East Anglia. Such are, *sister, or, clad, fled, fee, they did rest, he bad be brought, they were but a mile off, leren* (discere), *goven, sule ye, wore* (erant), *at nede, aren* (sunt), *feyth. Understand of* (recipere de) appears, as in the poem dictated by St. Thomas to the East Anglian priest. The *qu* often replaces the rightful *hw*, as *quanne* for *hwanne*; the *alderbest* of East Anglia is now *altherbest.* The Southern transcriber, who went to work perhaps ten years after his original was compiled, has taken great liberties. He is fond of clipping the Northern guttural *h*; for he writes *þou* (quamvis), *plow, aute* (habuit), though he sometimes leaves this word as he found it, *auchte.* He often writes *nouth* for the old *noht*, and most likely dropped the guttural *h* in pronouncing, for he has *I woth* for *I wot.* He has *michel, il* (ilc) *del*; we see the true form *als* (sicut) in p. 16, but this is sometimes wrongly changed into *also*, as in p. 10. He writes *wrobberes* (latrones), p. 2, which shows that the *w* had at that time no sound before the *r*, at least in the South. He makes little difference between *w* and *u*; he has the old *blawe* (flare), which, however, is altered into *blou* at p. 18; *owen* (proprius) is written *oune* at p. 68; *lawe* (humilis) is changed into *lowe*, and *sawe* (vidit) into *sowe.*

As to Vowels: the *ea* becomes *a*; for *bearh* (texit) becomes *barw*; the same vowel change is in the Ormulum and the Genesis. The verb for *monstrare* is written *shauwe*, riming with *knawe*, at p. 62; it is also written *sheue*, riming with *knewe*, at p. 43; spelling was as yet in a most unsettled state. *Eorl* now becomes *erl*, and *seol* (phoca) is seen as *sele*. Orrmin's *lefftenn* (levare), a Danish word peculiar to the North, is now written *lift*. The old *græp* (sulcus) becomes *grip*, a word still in use. The *o* is in great request; the old *âre* (remus) becomes *ore*; *eac* (etiam) is sometimes written *ok*. We may trace the Westward march, up from East Anglia, of the *o* replacing the older *a*; *swa* has become *so*, and is made to rime with *Domino*; on the other hand, *wa* (dolor) still rimes with *stra*, our *straw*. The *o* also replaces *u*; as we see in p. 81, where the old *treowian* (credere) is written *tro*, just as we pronounce it; we see *þoru* written for *þurh* in p. 85; hence comes our *thorough*. They *shoten* replaces the old Perfect *scuton*. The *w* is often written for *u*; we hear of *Rokesburw* (p. 5); and *hw* (quomodo). The old form *þu* and the new form *þou* both appear, the Latin and the Greek forms of marking one and the same sound; our *foughten* (pugnaverunt) now replaces Layamon's *fuhten*. The *muhte* (potuit) of the Ancren Riwle here becomes *moucte* and *mouthe*; Tennyson's 'Northern Farmer' says, 'it mowt 'a bean so.' The old *acofrian* (recuperare) is pared down to *covere* at p. 57; it is here intransitive.

On turning to the Consonants, we see *b* inserted, for the old *samening* (conventus) of the Genesis must have

become *semeling* and then *sembling* (p. 31). *F* is replaced by *v*, for *cnafa* becomes *knave*. The *h* is cast out in the middle of a word, for *Iohan* is written *Ion* (p. 6). The *g* is cast out as usual; there are such forms as *eyne* (oculi), still kept by our poets; also *penies* (p. 36). The *g* is replaced by *w*, for we see the proper name *Huwe*; there is also *drawen* (tractus) and *awe* (terrere). The old *galga* becomes *galwe-tre* at p. 2; and further on, at p. 21, we hear of the *galues*, our *gallows*. At Leicester, Gallow Tree Gate is found as the name of a street to this day. The *s* is inserted, for the old *cwiðe* is now seen as *quiste*, our *bequest*. The *sevende* of the Genesis is now written *sevenþe* (septimus); it is the Old English *seofoþa* with the Scandinavian *n* inserted. We find, by a note of Mr. Skeat's at the end of p. 74, that instead of the first letter of *ye*, our *ȝea*, there is found a character that might stand for either þ, for *p* (the Old English *w*), or for *y*. The like confusion may be remarked in other manuscripts compiled about 1290; we see at once why some still write y^e for *the*.[1] We find two lines in p. 55 which explain why the Irish to this day sound the *r* so strongly:

> 'And he haves on þoru his *arum* (arm),
> Þerof is ful mikel *harum* (harm).'

[1] The Caxton Exhibition of July, 1877, has here enabled me to add a note. Caxton, in printing, well distinguishes the þ from the *y*. The Bibles of Tyndale and Coverdale, in 1536, make very little difference between these characters; still, there is a difference, if the books are closely examined; the þ is still employed in writing *the* and *that*. In Grafton's Bible of 1540, there is no difference at all made between þ and *y*.

So the Irish sound Tyndale's *boren* (natus) in the true old way. The Scotch *warald* (world) is another relic of these sounds.

We see the Old English word for a well-known bird, in line 1241:

'Ne þe *hende*, ne þe *drake*.'

The former substantive, akin to the Latin *anas*, *anatis*, was still to last two hundred years, before it was supplanted by the word *duck*. As to *drake*, this Poem first shows us that the word had lost its old form *end-rake*, that is, *anat-rex*. There is hardly a word in English that has been so mauled; one letter, *d*, alone remains now to show the old root, and this letter is prefixed to a word akin to the *rajah* of Hindostan.

The poet is fond of coupling Nouns together, even when one of them is French; we find *luve-druryе*, *grith-sergeans*, *serf-borw*, *romanz-reding*; the noun is sometimes qualified by another noun of value, as *a ferping wastel* (p. 27). The love for new Verbal Nouns was coming down from the North; even French words were submitted to this process; at p. 58 we see *with ioynge* (cum gaudio). The Accusative of Time is seen again; it is said that something happens *þis tid nithes* (p. 58), where we should say 'this time of night.' We find the Genitive employed, without the usual noun following, where property is meant; *þis clopes aren þe kokes* (the cook's), p. 35. At p. 48, Havelok is sent *unto þe greyves* (the grieve's house). The Genitive of the Substantive is now replacing the Adjective, when material is meant; at p. 78, we hear of *gode feteres al of stel*; and at p. 38

comes *a blase of fir*. Still, at p. 43, a man is called *a develes lime* (membrum). *Folk* now means not only *populus*, but *comitatus*; the retinue of a great lord is called *his folk* at p. 46. An Adjective is turned into a Substantive, when a criminal is said to be led outside the town *unto a grene*, p. 80. Men are said not to care a *straw* or a *sloe* for a thing. The old *fealg* (rastrum) now gives birth to a new Noun *falwes*, our *fallows*. The *tan* (digiti pedis) of the South now become *tos*; the sound is well kept in our *toes*.

On turning to the Adjectives, we see the new Southern form with *most* encroaching on the old Superlative, as *mest meke*, p. 29. *Loth* had hitherto meant only *molestus*; it now, no longer governing a Dative, gets the further sense of *invitus*; we hear that an oath is taken of the barons, *lef and loth*, p. 9. We see the word *cwic* halfway between its old sense of *vivus* and its later sense of *citus*; certain men are called *quike*, p. 41, meaning *active*. The word *sarig* gets another meaning besides its old sense of *tristis*; a bad man is called *þat sori fend*, p. 62. A new exhaustive definition of the conditions of men is coming in; all men are summoned, *þeu and fre*, p. 62; in the Tristrem of the same date, this becomes *bond and fre*. This word *fre* has another side, which we see at p. 82; we there hear of a lady, that *she is fayr and she is fre*. The word *sælig* kept its old meaning of *felix* down to 1440 in Norfolk; but it here means *infelix*; a child, when about to be murdered, is called a *seli knave*, p. 15; the same sense of the word is found in Gloucestershire twenty years later. It is

most remarkable that one word should bear two meanings wide as the poles asunder, at one and the same time. We may gather from this *sœlig*, that the Havelok was written in the Westernmost part of the Danelagh.[1]

In this Poem, men are often exhaustively described, not as *one and all*, but as *broun and blak*. The ballad phrase *red gold* is now in vogue; the old phrase had been used long before this time, as we see in Kemble's Charters, IV. 292. An Adjective is qualified by having a Substantive prefixed; we hear of *stan-ded* (p. 50), a phrase used by Lord Essex in 1641; the phrase is explained in p. 75, where an earl falls *ded so ani ston*. At p. 30 we light upon *clopes, al span newe*; the word comes from the old *spon*, a *chip*; we should now say, *brand new*. The Scandinavian phrase for this was *spán-nyr*.

As to Pronouns: the French use *vous*, when addressing the Almighty; this took root in the Northern half of England. Havelok, when in earnest prayer, employs the word unmusical in Quaker's ear:

> For the holi milce of *you*
> Have merci of me, loverd, nou.[2]—P. 41.

I think we owe our freedom from this particular corrup-

[1] The sense of *infelix* remained till 1600. James VI. was called by a Scotch minister '*God's silly vassal.*' Our *silly* means *stultus* now, though it stood for *bonus* in Layamon's *Second Text*: this reminds us of the Greek *euethes*.

[2] This still lingers in Scotland; see the Psalms turned *intil Scottis* by Mr. Waddell, published in 1871; such phrases as 'heigh, O Lord, i' yer ain might,' come constantly.

tion to our version of the Lord's Prayer, where *tu* is rightly Englished by the kindred *þu*, *thou*; to this we have always steadfastly clung. We saw the sense in which Orrmin employed *theirs*; this is now extended; at p. 79 we read, *Englond auhte for to ben youres.* This is a sure mark of the North. At p. 2 we see the idiom, well known to ballad-makers, where *it* becomes something like an Indeterminate Pronoun, as in the Ancren Riwle:

It was a king bi are dawes
That in his time were gode lawes.

There is another use of the Indefinite *it* at p. 3: *wo so dede wrong, were it clerc or were it knicth*, &c. At p. 68 we see the earliest instance of a well-known vulgarism:

'Hwan Godard herde *þat þer* þrette.'

The Oblique case of the old Article may have had some influence here; *ex illâ horâ* was Englished by *of þære tide.* At p. 29 *more* is employed in a new sense; Havelok would not rest *more þan he were a best*; we should now put *any* before this *more.*

There is a change in the use of Numerals; at p. 55, Havelok has a wound in the side, and *on þoru his arum*; here *on* is employed without repeating the Substantive. There is a new phrase in p. 75; two men fell down, *first þe croune*; we should now say, *crown first*; this is a kind of Dative Absolute.

We see the Northern Strong Verb weakened in the Participle, as *þat he be henged* (p. 70); the South stuck to the rightful *hengen*, our *hung.* At p. 57 *knawed*

(notus) is written to suit the rime, instead of *knawen*. The Southern Participle *do* (factum), not *don*, is found at p. 49, where it rimes with *two*.

We see both *wolde have do* (fecisset) and *havede þarned* (carnisset); the two later forms of the Pluperfect Subjunctive. There is a startling new idiom in p. 79; the queen was brought, *for hem for to se*, 'for them to see.' This is found 170 years later in the Coventry Mysteries, which were compiled not far from Leicester. We saw in 1160 the phrase, 'he would have done it;' this usage is now extended to other verbs; in p. 49 comes, *he wende have slawe* (him), 'he thought to have slain him;' the Infinitive Present would here have been used earlier. *I ween* comes often as a mere expletive, as in p. 58. The noun *wassail* is now turned into a verb; men *haveden wosseyled* (p. 47). To *prick* is used in the fine old poetical sense that Macaulay loved:

> An erl, þat he saw *priken* þore,
> Ful noblelike upon a stede.—P. 75.

We find such phrases as *he let þe barre fleye* (fly), *to sey nay*, *clap him on þe crune*, *crak his crune*, *brek up mi dor*. The old *dugan* (valere) appears here, and henceforward was confined to the North, except in our common phrase 'how *do* you *do*?' here the first *do* stands for *facere*, the last for *valere*. The Scotch, less careless than ourselves, make *dow* their form for *valere*.

We see an Adverb formed from a Preposition in *þoruth-like* (thoroughly), p. 21. The Scandinavian *nær*, like the Old English *neh*, expressed the Latin *fere*; at p. 54, we find, *ner als naked so he was born*. At p. 58

comes the old Scandinavian phrase *til ok frá* in our form, *to and fro*. The *overþwert* of p. 80, with its last unmistakeable Danish letter, has since been pared down to *athwart*.

Some Prepositions are used in a new way. The *of* was encroaching on the *on*; a phrase such as the old *gebletsod on* (inter) *wifum* makes way for *ricth he lovede of alle þinge*, p. 3. We see at p. 56, *it is of him mikel scaþe*; hence Shakespere's 'O, the pity of it!' The *of* replaces *for* in the phrase *ilker twenti knihtes havede of genge* (p. 66). The *with* becomes prominent. Layamon had written *of mid here breches*; we now see *help him doun with þe birþene*, p. 28; and *hwat sholde ich with wif do?* p. 35. At p. 41 comes *nim in with þe*, the forerunner of our 'get along with you.' The *at* is employed for the Preposition *on*, where something is specially marked out, as happening within a short time; *at a dint* (blow) *he slow hem þre*, p. 50. In such-like phrases we see how near *a* and *one* are to each other. A new sense of *against* is seen at p. 60: *brihter þan gold ageyn þe lith* (light). In the Ancren Riwle, *umbe stonde* had stood for *nonnunquam*; here it stands for *quondam*, when the Danes refer to a deceased king, at p. 64; the word was altered in Scotland into *umbe hwile* (umquhile), with the same meaning of *quondam*.

There are a few Interjections; at p. 36 comes *þe devel him hawe!* at p. 56 comes *God-þank* in the middle of a sentence. In our *thank God!* the first word must be a noun, the last word must be in the Dative case.

The Scandinavian verb *leyke* (ludere) is sounded in this Poem just as our Northern shires still pronounce it; we of the South call it *lark*, following the Old

English *lâcan*.[1] In our sound of *weak*, we lean to the Northern *waike*, the Scandinavian *veikr*, rather than to the Old English *wâc*, which was at this time pronounced *woc* all through Southern England. Chaucer ruled in this instance for the Northern form, which must have made its way to London by his time. The form *polk*, for *pool*, is peculiar to the Dano-Anglian shires, and appears both here and in the Tristrem.

As might be expected, there are many Danish words in the Havelok. I give those which England has kept, together with one or two to be found in Lowland Scotch.

Big, from the Icelandic *bolga* (tumere).
Bleak, from the Icelandic *bleikr* (pallidus).
Blink, from the Danish *blinke*.
Boulder (a rock), from the Icelandic *ballaðr*.
Coupe, as in *horse-couper*, from the Icelandic *kaupa* (emere).
Crus (Scotch *crouse*), from the Swedish *krus* (excitable).
Ding, from the Icelandic *dengia*, to hammer.[2]
Dirt, from the Icelandic *drit* (excrementa).
Goul (to yowl, *ululare*), from the Icelandic *gaula*.
Grime, from the Norse *grima* (a spot).
Hemp, from the Icelandic *hampr*, not from the Old English *hanep*.
Put[3] (to throw), from the Icelandic *potta*.
Sprawl, from the Danish *sprælle*.
Stack, from the Danish *stak*.
Teyte (tight, active), from the Norse *teitr* (lively).

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[1] This verb will soon once more find its way into Standard English. Wellington, before 1816, speaking of an officer who had got himself killed needlessly, said, 'What business had he larking there?' See *Lord Macaulay's Life*, II. 277.

[2] Can our noun '*dig* in the side' come from this?

[3] Hence comes the phrase, *putting* the stone, first found in this Poem.

Besides these Scandinavian words, we find in the Havelok other words now for the first time employed. Such are *lad* (puer), from the Welsh *llawd*[1]; *stroute*, our *strut* (contendere), a High German word; *boy* (puer), akin to the Suabian *buah*; to *butt*, akin to the Dutch *botten*; *but*, (a *bout* at wrestling), which Mr. Wedgwood derives from *bugan* (flectere), and *bought*, a word applied to the coils of a rope, and so to the turns of things that succeed each other. *File*, akin to the Dutch *vuil*, means a worthless person; we may still often hear a man called 'a cunning old file.' In 2499 of the Havelok, we read,

'Here him rore, þat fule *file*.'
foul

To-tuse (divellere) is akin to a High German word; from it comes the dog's name *Towser*. The Verbal Noun *sobbing*, first found here, is said to be a word formed from the sound imitated.

It is curious to see in this Lay two forms of the same word that has come to England by different channels; we have *gete* (custodire) from the Icelandic *gœta*; and also *wayte*, which means the same, coming from the French *guaiter*, a corruption of the *wahten* brought into Gaul by her German conquerors. Sad havock must have been wrought with English prepositional compounds in the eighty years that separate the Havelok from the Ormulum. In compound words, *umbe*, the Greek *amphi*, comes only three times throughout the long Poem before us; *for* only five times; *with* only once; *of* not at all. The English tongue had been losing some of its best

[1] *Lodes*, the Welsh female of this word, has become our *lass*.

appliances. The Preposition *to*, answering to the German *zer* and the Latin *dis*, was still often found in composition, and did not altogether drop until the days of James I.; it was even prefixed to French Verbs.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1280.)[1]

THE HAVELOK.—Page 38.

On þe nith, als Goldeborw lay,
Sory and sorwful was she ay,
For she wende she were biswike,[a] — [a] tricked
Þat sh[e w]ere yeven unkyndelike.[b] — [b] unnaturally
O nith saw she þer-inne a lith,
A swiþe[c] fayr, a swiþe bryth, — [c] very
Al so brith, al so shir,[d] — [d] clear
So it were a blase of fir.
She lokede no(r)þ, and ek south,
And saw it comen ut of his mouth,
Þat lay bi hire in þe bed:
No ferlike[e] þou she were adred. — [e] wonder
Þouthe she, 'wat may this bimene?
He beth[f] heyman yet, als y wene, — [f] will be
He beth heyman[g] er he be ded.' — [g] nobleman
On hise shuldre, of gold red
She saw a swiþe noble croiz,
Of an angel she herde a voyz,
'Goldeborw, lat-þi sorwe be,
For Havelok, þat haveþ spuset þe,
He [is] kinges sone, and kinges eyr,
Þat bikenneth[h] þat croiz so fayr. — [h] betokens

[1] In this Poem *nith* stands for *night*, and other words in the same way.

It bikenneth more, þat he shal
Denemark haven, and Englond al.
He shal ben king strong and stark
Of Engelond and Denemark.[1]
Þat shal þu wit þin eyne sen,[l] [l] see
And þo shalt quen and levedi ben.'
Þanne she havede herd the stevene[k] [k] voice
Of þe angel uth of hevene,
She was so fele sipes[l] blithe, [l] many times
Þat she ne mithe hire joie mythe.[m] [m] moderate
But Havelok sone anon she kiste,
And he slep and nouth ne wiste.
Hwan þat aungel havede seyd,
Of his slep anon he brayd,[n] [n] started
And seide, 'lemman, slepes þou?
A selkuth[o] drem dremede me nou. [o] wondrous
Herkne nou hwat me haveth met,[p] [p] I dreamt
Me þouthe y was in Denemark set,
But on on þe moste[q] hil [q] greatest
Þat evere yete kam i til.
It was so hey, þat y wel mouthe
Al þe werd[r] se, als me þouthe. [r] world
Als i sat upon þat lowe,[s] [s] hill
I bigan Denemark for to awe,
Þe borwes[t] and þe castles stronge; [t] boroughs
And mine armes weren so longe,
That i fadmede, al at ones,
Denemark, with mine longe bones.
And þanne[u] y wolde mine armes drawe [u] when
Til me, and hom for to have,
Al that evere in Denemark liveden
On mine armes faste clyveden.[x] [x] clave
And þe stronge castles alle
On knes bigunnen for to falle,

---

[1] This way of pronouncing all the three vowels alike of the word *Engelond* had not died out in Shakespere's time.

Þe keyes fellen at mine fet.
Anoþer drem dremede me ek,
Þat ich flew [y] over þe salte se — [y] flow
Til Engeland, and al with me
Þat evere was in Denemark lyves,[z] — [z] alive
But [a] bondemen, and here wives, — [a] except
And þat ich kom til Engelond,
Al closede it intil mine hond.
And, Goldeborw, y gaf [it] þe.
Deus! lemman, hwat may þis be?'
Sho answerede and seyde sone:
'Jhesu Crist, þat made mone,
Þine dremes turne to joye;
Þat wite [b] þw that sittes in trone. — [b] decree
Ne non strong king, ne caysere,
So þou shalt be, fo[r] þou shalt bere
In Engelond corune yet;
Denemark shal knele to þi fet.
Alle þe castles þat aren þer-inne,
Shal-tow, lemman, ful wel winne.'

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1280.)

Whan Jhesu Crist was done on rode
And þolede deþ for ure gode,
He clepede to hym seint Johan,
Þat was his oȝe qenes man,
And his oȝene moder also,
Ne clepede he hym feren no mo.
And sede, 'wif, lo her þi child
Þat on þe rode is ispild:
Nu ihc am honged on þis tre
Wel sore ihc wot hit rewe þ þe.
Mine fet and honden of blod . . .
Biþute gult ihc þolie þis ded.

Mine men þat aȝte me to love,
For whan ihc com from hevene abuve,
Me haveþ idon þis ilke schame.
Ihc nave no gult, hi buþ to blame.
To mi fader ihc bidde mi bone,
Þat he forȝive hit hem wel sone.'
Marie stod and sore weop,
Þe teres feolle to hire fet.
No wunder nas þeȝ heo wepe sore,
Of soreȝe ne miȝte heo wite no more,
Whenne he þat of hire nam blod and fless,
Also his suete wille was,
Heng inayled on þe treo.
'Alas, my sone,' seide heo,
'Hu may ihc live, hu may þis beo?'

The above is taken from the Assumption of the Virgin, printed by the Early English Text Society, along with the King Horn and the Floriz, written about 1280 or later. In them we find that the Active Participle in *inge*, first used by Layamon, has almost driven out the older *inde*. The King Horn was written in some part of England (Warwickshire?), upon which the East Midland dialect had begun to act, grafting its Plural form of the Present tense upon the older form in *eth*. We find also in the Horn, as in the Havelok, such Midland forms as *þei*, *til*, *childre*, *he nam* (ivit), and *boȝe* (puer). Forms like *fiss* (piscis) and *diss* were found rather later in Gloucestershire. It is convenient to discuss all the three poems of the one manuscript together; the Assumption and the Floriz may perhaps come from Worcestershire, for we find Layamon's forms *feolle* (cecidit), *huren* (conducere), and the Salopian preference of the *e*, as *kenne* (genus), *kesse*, *merie* (hilaris), *senful*;

the *pulle* of the South is altered into *pelte*, p. 40; it as yet means *ruere*, not *torquere*. There is Orrmin's *bigge* (emere) at page 49. The form *kneweling* (genuflectio) is found in Layamon and Robert of Gloucester. The writer is fond of the *u* sound, as *clupe* for *clepe*, *gud* for *god* (bonus), p. 60; *fout* (pes) for *fot*, p. 4; he has the Salopian *shup* (navis). At p. 27 we see *ires* (aures) riming with *tires* (lacrymæ), where the first vowel is pronounced as we sound it now; there is also *strimes*. The greatest change is that of *hwa swa* into *ho so*, (whoso), in p. 59; the sound of the *w* is already got rid of, and this spread into Lincolnshire twenty years later. The *v* and the þ are both cast out in the middle of a word; we see both *loverd* and *lord*, *Apelbrus* and *Aylbrus*; there is also *he haþ*, as in other parts. The *s* is added, for we find *whannes* (unde.) There is a curious interchange between *w* and *b*, which reminds us of the two ways in Greek for expressing the first letter of the name Virgil; the old *wylm* (fervor) leads to the Verb *hulmeþ* (fervet), p. 59; the French *boil* may have had its influence here. The þ is written like ȝ, as usual in the manuscripts of this time; at p. 69 comes *hi crieȝ* (clamant).

Among Substantives, we see the new *knizthod*; also *cast* (jactus). Horn and Floriz, the heroes of two of the poems here printed, were but children at the outset of the tale; so the title *child* is given to them throughout. This synonym for *knight* is well known in our old ballads, and lasted down to Childe Harold's day. There is the phrase in p. 2, *hit was upon a someres day*. At p. 73, comes, *þe Admiral he bid god day*; in the Digby

Manuscript of the same date the rightful Accusative *godne day* is still kept. At p. 52 an Adjective is employed for a Substantive, *heo fulde of a brun*; 'she filled from a brown (jack);' we now employ *browns* for *pence*. The like is seen at p. 34; *he wipede þat blake of his swere*; the *blacks* are well known to Londoners. At p. 56 we find *þu were þe betere*; this Nominative would earlier have been the Dative *þe*; a little lower comes, 'hold him *for more þane fol.*' The old interchange between *it* and *there* comes out clearly in the phrase *hit sprang dai liȝt*, (p. 4). In p. 65 stands *schal me nevre atwite me*; the first *me* is the Gloucestershire form of the Indefinite *men*.

There is a curious idiom of a Passive and an Active Participle being coupled, at p. 70; *felons inome hondhabbing*. At p. 29 we see *strike seil*, the first instance of this. Chivalrous ideas were now being widely spread under the sway of our great Edward, and we find that a Verb has been formed from the substantive *knight*:

For to knigti child horn.—P. 14.

At p. 10 comes *her abute*; we often now turn an Adverb into a Substantive, when speaking of a man's *whereabouts*.

We see the Preposition *at* supplanting *on* at p. 61, because the former was most like the French *à*; *pleie at þe escheker*, (chess); most of our indoor games at this time came from France; there is another encroachment by *at* upon *on* in p. 36, *he at dipe* (death) *laie*. *Of* supplants *on* at p. 69, *hire wiȝt* (weight) *of gold*. The *of* was being used as freely as in the Havelok; at p. 29,

comes *telle me al of þine spelle*; the partitive use of this *of* after *sum* must have been the model followed here.

We now light on *scrip* (pera), which comes from the Scandinavian *skreppa*, and *pore* (spectare), akin to the Swedish *pala*. Mr. Wedgwood points to *pala i en bok* (pore on a book); we have the Verb *peer* as well as *pore*, like *deem* and *doom*. There are also three words akin to the Dutch or German; *clench* (our clink), *flutter*, and *guess*; the latter means 'to weigh or calculate,' and has long lived as an expletive in America, much as Wickliffe used it.

Many of the Poems, which remain to us in the Harleian Manuscript compiled about 1315, seem to belong to 1280; so old a form as *maydenmon* (virgo) is here found. They have been printed in the Specimens of Lyric Poetry, (Percy Society); in the Political Songs, (Camden Society); in the Poems of Walter Mapes, (Camden Society); and in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ.' We may safely set the compilation down to the shire where the St. Katherine was translated; there are many forms and idioms common to both pieces. The greatest peculiarity of the present compiler is his changing *eo* into *ue*; he has *suen* for *seon* (videre) at p. 100 (Lyric P.). We see our *schow* (monstrare) at p. 196 (Political S.), though this must have had the sound of the French *ou*. The *v* is cast out at p. 111 (Lyric P.), for *devel* becomes *del*, the Scotch *deil*. The form *quaque* (tremere) is curious, in p. 348 (Mapes' P.); here the first *qu* is pronounced in the English way, the second in the French way.

The old form *man kin* is now altered into *monkunde* (mankind), p. 81 (Lyric P.). *Crop* was much used in

the sense of *caput* about this time, as in the phrase *crop ant rote*; our *cropper* differs not much from *header*; the one belongs to the land, the other to the water. *Cherl* is used in the sense of *fellow*, p. 111 (Lyric P.). *Score* is now used for a written account, p. 155 (Political S.). The *lad* and *boi* of the Havelok are here repeated. Women now bear the names of *Magge* and *Malle*, p. 158 (Political S.). At p. 349 of the Mapes' Poems, the grave is called *oure long hom.*

Seli, in the Western shires, had changed its meaning from *beatus* to *infelix* (like our '*poor* fellow'); this we saw in the Havelok. An animal unjustly treated is on that account called the *sel iasse*, p. 198 (Political S.). In the next page comes *dogged*, applied to the wolf; it seems here to stand for *crudelis*. Further on, at p. 203, we read of a *sori wed*, the sense that *sori* had begun to bear in the Havelok. At 68 (Lyric P.) we hear of a body beaten *blak ant blo*; *blæ* (lividus) is English; *bloie* (cæruleus) is French. At p. 152 (Political S.) we see the origin of our common *as good as*, where *good* stands for *well*; *ase god is swynden anon as so for te swynke.* We say 'that is as good as saying, &c.'; here we see how the Infinitive in *en* became *ing*. *Worthy* had hitherto been followed by the Infinitive; at p. 71 (Lyric P.) comes *make me worthi that y so be.*

At p. 58 of the same, we see the Possessive Pronoun set after its Substantive; *swete Ihesu, loverd myn*, as in the Blickling Homilies. The Indefinite *it* is extended in meaning at p. 110; 'no wight, unless *hit bue the hegge.*' The *ne*, even in this Southern shire, is making way for *nout*, as we see in p. 111. At p. 196 (Political

Songs) there is a great change; we see *al thai, whate hi evir be.* The old *swa hwat swa* is a thing of the past; and the Neuter *hwat* is now used for the Masculine *hwa*, or perhaps for *hwylc.* The modern Relative sense of the latter Pronoun is gaining ground at p. 205; the poet talks of the joy of heaven; he then begins a new sentence; *to whoch joi Crist bring us.*

As to Verbs: *bist* (tu es) is in 72 (Lyric P.); it belongs to the South, and was used three hundred years later by the great Warwickshire bard. The *mot* and *most* were not quite settled as yet; in 199 (Political S.) stands *Godis grame most hi have*; here we should now put *may* for *most.* In p. 203 comes *men mot it hide*; here we should now put *must* for *mot.* At p. 155, comes *y shal rewen huere redes*; here *rue*, as in the Harrowing of Hell, is employed in our modern way; it would have been earlier *me shall rewen of* &c. We see such phrases as *he weop a flod of teres*, p. 70 (Lyric P.); *do wey*, 'make way' (p. 90); and *thy wille ne welk y ner a fote*, (p. 100) 'I followed thy will never a foot.' We here see the beginning of our idiom, 'to walk the hospitals.' In the Political Songs, *wed* takes a new meaning, for it is used of a priest marrying a couple (p. 159). But the greatest change in the Verb is to be found in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. p. 122. Long before this time, we saw in Domesday Book French names such as *Taillebosc* and *Passaquam.* This compounding of a Verb with an Accusative is now passed on to English; an old man is called by his wife *spille-bred*, or as we should now say, a *bread-waster.* This new idiom was to flood England with new compounds in the Reformation age; though it is

now but little used; our grooms call a horse a *crib-biter*, not a *bite-crib*; we have in this stuck to the old Teutonic way of compounding. Almost six hundred years separate *spille-bred* and *know-nothing*, the last similar French-born compound that I can remember; it was a word of great American renown about 1855. Another imitation of the French is seen in a piece of this age, in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. p. 133; we read of animals called the *go-bi-dich*, the *stele awai*, and many such. This idiom was imitated by Bunyan in his *Mr. Dare-not-lie*, &c.; the name *Praise God Barebones* was once well known. We now talk of a drink as a 'pick me up;' a slow man is called 'old stick in the mud.'

At p. 94 (Lyric P.) we meet with the *so* needlessly set before an Adjective, the idiom well known to our ballad-makers:

Levedi, seinte Marie, so fair ant so briht.

Wel is used for *rihte* in p. 80, *stond wel under rode*, reminding us of the old *well nigh*.

At p. 68 (Lyric P.) we find *the love of the*; we have before seen *thi love*. But this *of* was giving way to *on*; at p. 91 we see the old idiom *rewe of me*; at p. 90, comes the new *rewe on me*. This idiom is repeated in the Alexander and the Piers Ploughman, compiled in neighbouring shires. In the Gothic, *ana* with the dative sometimes follows Verbs of emotion. (Mätzner, II. 371.) In the Mapes' Poems, p. 347, comes *al o fure*, and the Alexander, rather later, has *sette on fyre*. *With* is now used like the Latin *ab* before a person; *thou art wayted* (watched) *with fader ant al my kynne*, p. 91 (Lyric P.);

this *with* is employed in the same way in Piers Ploughman; we still say, 'I was taken with him.'

There are some new Teutonic words; the pains of hell are said to be *tykel*, p. 346 (Mapes' Poems); we still speak of a 'ticklish business.' At p. 111 (Lyric P.) comes *drynke of fol god bous*, whence comes our *boozy*. At p. 150 (Political S.), we hear of men that *pyketh the pore ful clene*; this is akin to the Dutch *picken*. At page 157, we light upon those who *polketh a parosshe in pyne*; hence comes our Verb *poke*, which is found often in Salopian writers of the following age with the *l* cast out; this also is seen in Dutch. At p. 158, we hear that a woman is *by-modered* (distraught); hence perhaps our *muddled*, with the usual change of *r* and *l*.

About this time, 1280, English was making a new start. Some of the pieces in the Lyric Poems, especially those in pages 80, 90, and 110, foreshadow the wonderful power and ease that our tongue was soon to display. The English Hymn, as we now commonly have it, was beginning to appear: some specimens are to be found in this manuscript: the four lines of each stanza end in one rime. I give an example, from p. 70 (Lyric P.):—

> Jhesu, when ich thenke on the,
> Ant loke upon the rode tre,
> Thi suete body to-toren y se,
> Hit maketh heorte to smerte me.

To this time, about 1280, belongs the tale of Dame Siriz, a translation from the French; it is printed in Wright's 'Anecdota Literaria.' It was written somewhere on the Great Sundering Line, from its mixture of

Northern and Southern forms. We find, as in the Havelok, *gar, gang, I mon, hethen* (hence), *thou bes* (eris), *Goddot, fair and fre, we helpen, til, have*; there is also *senne* (peccatum), *clarc*, and *sweeting*; all Severn forms. Perhaps the poem was written in South Staffordshire; the Southern *thilke, muchel*, and *womon* (mulier) appear; and also the Accusative of the Adjective, *have godne dai*, a very late instance; both *selke* and *sulke* express *talis*.

Bed (jussit) keeps its vowel-sound to this day. The *h* is wrongly prefixed, as in *hon* and *houncurteis*; *n* is added to Orrmin's old *uppo*, for we find *oppon*; here there must have been some confusion with *on*. Besides the form *Siriz*, we see *Sirith* (p. 9), which rimes with *grith*; this confusion we have already seen in the Yorkshire *sestred*.

At p. 5 comes the expression *trewe as stel*. The *eft sone* of Dorset now becomes *effsones* (p. 11). At p. 7 an old woman says, *I bidde mi paternoster and mi crede*; this Possessive Pronoun has since been used of books that men ought to read; 'I have studied my Gibbon,' says one of Mr. Trollope's heroines. At p. 8 appears the origin of the cumbrous 'if so be that,' well known in our Bible; *if hit be so that thou me helpe*.

In p. 7 we see *go telle mi sereue* (sorrow); here *and* should have come after *go*. At p. 6 comes *God the i-blessi*; in the next page this is shortened into *blesse the, blesse the!* Forms like 'save us' and 'curse it' were to come later. The old *umbe* was now being dropped for *aboute*; at p. 4 comes *ich am i-gon aboute to speken*; the idea of earnest purpose is here prominent,

and this lasted down to 1611. We find phrases such as *to do for the* (rem gerere pro te). The old *get* had hitherto meant *adipisci*; it now leans towards the meaning of *suadere*; *ich gette hire to mi wille* (p. 8). There is a new sense of the verb *run* in the next page; we hear of *eyes running*. A curious idiom, which we saw in the Chronicle of 1096, is found in the following lines, in p. 9:

I shal mak a lesing
Of thin heie renning;

that is, 'I shall tell a lie about thine eye running.' Here the Verbal Noun has a Substantive prefixed. Some would wrongly say that the *renning* was an Infinitive, following the *of*, just as the French *de* takes an Infinitive after it.

As to Prepositions: we hear of a man being *from hom* (p. 5); this is a relic of the old *fram* þe, 'apart from thee,' in the Psalms.

This poem is a translation from the French; we are not surprised therefore, on finding *bote* (but) used like the French *mais* at the beginning of a sentence (p. 7): *màis oui* is a truly French idiom. *And* had been long used to English *si* as well as *et*: a distinction seemed to be called for; so in the middle of p. 11 we see the *d* cut off and *an* (si) used for the first time. In the third line of p. 12 we find *and if* used for *si*; the two words are coupled, and this usage lasted down to 1611, for *but and if* (sed si) begins a sentence in our New Testament.

We here find not only the proper name *Wilekin*, which had long been known, but also *Margeri*.[1] The

[1] The English *Margeri* seems common-place by the side of the

fair of *Botolfston* is mentioned, which is not as yet cut down to Boston; the prefix *Saint* has been dropped. We see for the first time the French words *pepis* (pips), *mustard*, and *juperti* (jeopardy), p. 9.

Along with Dame Siriz are printed a few other poems from the Digby Manuscript; they seem to have been written about 1280, much further to the South; for there are forms like *axseth* (rogat) and *bugen* (emere). In p. 90 we see the phrases *her and there*, *eiȝte werof thou were loverd*; here *whereof* is used in a new way. In the next page comes *to ben agast, leste* &c.

In another poem from the Digby Manuscript, The Thrush and Nightingale (Hazlitt, 'Early Popular Poetry,' I. 50) we find *sheme* for shame, *filde* for *feld* (campus), just as we now pronounce these words. In p. 57 we see a well-known proper name altered into *Bedlehem*, whence comes *Bedlam*.

The last piece that seems to belong to 1280 is the Tristrem (Scott's edition), a poem which we owe to the North; it was transcribed fifty years later, most likely in Salop.[1] The Northern forms are *gif* (si), *titly*, *thou ses* (vides), *men seis* (aiunt), *swalu* (passer), *untroweand*, *fiftend*, *warld*, *tan* (captus), *hate* (calidus), *bist* (emis), *ye* (tu), which last is always coming. The poem may have been written in Yorkshire, not far from the Lancashire and Derbyshire borders; for we find *hye* (illa), also Orrmin's *thou was* (eras), and *han* (habent). The *down right* of the Northern Psalter is repeated. Verbal nouns abound,

nobler Scotch *Marjory*. A wonderful difference is made by forms of spelling.

[1] I give a specimen of this in Chapter VII.

a sure mark of the North. But the Passive Participle, with the final *n* clipped, has made its way upwards; the Poet certainly wrote *might have be* in p. 173, as we see by the rimes; the Southern *drawe* has also come into Yorkshire (p. 181). The chief tokens of the Transcriber's alterations are to be found in *to*, *ich*, *boathe*, *brethern*, *no*, where *twa*, *ilk* (idem), *bathe*, *brether*, and *na* must have been written. He sometimes, but not always, turns *ogain* (iterum) into *oyain*; in p. 100 *tho* (quum) has been turned into *though*. The clearest marks of transcription are to be seen in the last lines of the two stanzas in p. 152. The Salopian form *kenne* (genus) has been substituted for *kinne* at p. 82, much to the injury of the rime; and *of life* (de vitâ) has been turned into *olive*, which makes nonsense, in p. 105.

As to Vowels: the old *tæhte* (docuit) now becomes *taught*; our form *slain* (cæsus) comes at p. 93. The old *glewe* (cantus) is found, and also the new *gle*, (p. 82). The poet had no scruple in using Southern forms, when he wanted a rime; *kende* (genus) comes in p. 150, and the Plural *dayn* (dies) in p. 153. At p. 30 we see *penis*, a word cut down to *pens* in the next page. We at last come upon our *ought* (debet), which had been long in gaining its abiding shape; there is also *anough* (satis).

There is a strong tendency to cast out Consonants: the Verb *dronken* (mergere) of the Northern Psalter now becomes *droun* (p. 90), our *drown*; the old Verb *swogan* is seen as *swoun* (p. 16). The *stigrâp* of former days, the *rope* by which you *stie* up, is now written *stirop*. The

old Icelandic *mithla* was usually *meddle* in English; but at p. 189 we see, *the cuntre with hem meld*, a great contraction; our slang word *mill* (pugnare) may come from this; Scott writes, *dare ye mell wi' Donald Caird.* The French *mêlée* is well known. The former *gehald* (castellum) is pared down to *hald* (p. 168), our *hold*; the French *consistorie* becomes *constori.* The old *darep* (jaculum), is now *dart.* *On* is pared down to *a* in *a bed*, *a fot*, and *a loft*; we now run the Prepositions and the Nouns into one word. The *waȝes* (fluctus) of Layamon's Second Text now become *wawes*, a form that was to last until Tyndale wrote it *waves.* The old verb *siftan* (cribrare) now forms the Noun *sive* (p. 114), which was written *sift* in Norfolk so late as 1440. *Enough* might even in the North be pronounced without the guttural at the end, as we see by the rimes in p. 182. The intrusive *n* appears in *messanger*, p. 151.

As to Substantives: the Verbal Nouns are fast increasing; we find *his wining*, p. 53; *her blod leteing*, p. 126, and many others. Orrmin's *endedaȝ* now becomes *ending day*, p. 102. We hear of something being done *opon a somers day.* We have seen *Sir*, *Dame*, and *Child* prefixed to proper names; we now find *maiden Blaunchefloure.* Instead of *see*, *have a sight of* is used in p. 38. *Yrland side* is in p. 61; here the last word is not needed; it shows the origin of our phrase, *the whole country side.* *Drink of main* (p. 97) is used for a *mighty drink.* We see an idiom well known to our ballad-makers in p. 112; *gavisus est* is Englished by *glad a man was he.* In p. 32 the old *bonda* (colonus) gives way to *husbondman*; the poet has elsewhere a new meaning for

bond; at p. 55 comes, *to long ichave ben her bond*, 'too long I have been their thrall.' *Husbonde* of old had meant only *conjux* and *paterfamilias*; the confusion of the derivative from the Scandinavian *bua* with the derivative from the Old English *bindan* is likely to puzzle the modern student. It is strange that the servile meaning of *bond* should be found first in a shire much peopled by Danes. Already, in the Northern Psalter, *bunden* (vinctus) has been changed into *bonden*.

There is a tendency to use Adjectives as if they were Substantives: at p. 179 comes *Ysonde men calleth that fre*; here *lady* should follow the last word; we know Hood's 'one more unfortunate.' *This bold* (p. 116) reminds us of the French *ce brave*. At p. 57 is *thai seylden into the wide*; just as we talk of *the open*. At p. 170 we see the old *liflic* (vivax) gain a new meaning; it is here applied to images that resemble life; we now make a difference between *lively* and *life-like*. Orrmin's *geȝnlike* is now seen as *gain* (promptus), p. 51; and the word is still well known in Yorkshire. The Adjective *long* is altogether dropped in the phrase, *the wand was tuelve fete*, p. 147; something like the idiom common in the oldest English, *he wæs twelfwintre* (eald). A new idiom of time is seen in p. 154; a pair live in pleasure for *tuelmoneth thre woukes las*; this would earlier have been 'less by three weeks.'

The Pronoun *his* was now used freely without being coupled to a Noun; in p. 57, two men sail forth, each in his own ship,

> Moraunt band his beside,
> And Tristrem lete his go.

There is a new form for the Reflexive Pronoun in p. 18; *thai maked hem boun*; we still say, 'I lay me down.' The Indefinite *it* gains ground; in p. 98, Tristrem would have been slain, *no were it for the king*; Orrmin would have written *nære* for *no were it*. The *as* was being used for the Latin *quod*, just as our lower class still use it; *an hille as he hadde mett*, is in p. 154. In p. 151 comes a poetical idiom that Chaucer loved:—

> Who was blithe in halle,
> Bot Ysonde the quen?

A touch of this lingers in Scott's 'Peveril,' chapter xxiii.; Everett says: 'he was who but he with the regents.'

In Verbs: *did* is coming in fast; as *thai dede obade*, (manserunt), p. 54; this revived idiom was making way elsewhere, as we see in the Havelok. The *most*, in the sense of *oportet*, had travelled up from Dorset to Yorkshire within forty years; in p. 94 is *nedes he most abide*; the *most* is also used for *licuit* (p. 164); *ye moten* is used in the sense of *oportet*, in p. 106. The French idiom, first found in St. Katherine's Legend, is repeated in p. 160; we there see *Tristrem went, withouten coming oyain*; here the Infinitive *comen* takes the form of the Active Participle.[1] We should never, I think, presume that this *ing* after a Preposition represents an old Infinitive; unless the Prepositions answer to *sans*, *pour*, or *de*, which govern an Infinitive in French. We hear of men *riding* out of haven; of *laying* money on a thing; these remind

[1] *An* or *en* becomes *ing*, just as the old *Abbandun* is now *Abingdon*, and some people turn *captain* and *garden* into *capting* and *garding*.

us of Scandinavia. We read, moreover, of *breaking* heads; of *dealing* strokes; of *setting* a child to lore. The Verb *bitaken*, used for *tradere* in Layamon's Second Text, was now pared down to *take*; at p. 21 comes, *sche toke Rouhant a ring*; at p. 92 comes, *Tristrem toke asaut to that dragoun*; we still say, 'he took him a crack on the head.' The old Verbs *lere* (docere) and *lern* (discere) are no longer kept distinct;[1] in p. 24 comes, *he lernd him*. At p. 147, *stand* gets, as in Scandinavia, the sense of *ferre* as well as *stare*; *his strok may no man stand*.[2] Layamon's Verb *dash* had been transitive; but we now find, *over the bregge he deste*, p. 149. At p. 25 comes the enquiry, 'What wilt thou lay?' the answer is, *tuenti schillinges to say*; we should now put, *say twenty shillings*. In p. 36 comes the challenge, *who better can lat se*; we should now say, *let us see*; here the *us* is intrusive. The Past Participle of *stician* (pungere) had always been Weak; it is now confused with the Strong Verb *steken* (claudere), and we see *mine hert hye hath y-steke* (p. 177). *Y trowe* is used as a mere expletive in p. 182; this is the Scandinavian *trúi eg*; *y wene* was elsewhere coming into use in the same sense. The Verb is dropped, after the French fashion, in the request, *swete Ysonde, thin are*, (bestow pity), p. 123.

We see such Adverbial phrases, as, 'to mate *fair*,' 'he was *fast* by,' '*out*, traitour, of mi land!' (p. 50), 'she wende al *wrong*,' 'he hated him *dedely*.' In the

[1] I have seen *lern* called the Passive Voice of *lere*.

[2] About the year 1848 there was a great dispute as to whether 'I stand no nonsense' was a phrase of Cromwell's time.

last word, we see the loss that England was undergoing, now that in the Dano-Anglian country she could not mark the distinction between an Adjective and an Adverb. The old *hrædlice* (protenus) is now seen as *redily* (p. 39); this does not come from Orrmin's *rædiȝ* (paratus). *Than* (tunc) is employed much as a Noun, for we find *er than* and *bi than*, a usage which comes down from before the Conquest. The old Comparative of *feor* (procul) was *ferre*, which may still be heard in Scotland as *farrer*; this was now confounded with *further*; and *ferther* (p. 94), our *farther*, is the result. The old Adverb *cwicliche* is pared down to *quik* at p. 98. We have seen *stille* used as *adhuc* three hundred years before this time; the idiom now comes up again; it was long peculiar to the North, and only slowly made its way to London. At p. 117 we find, *yif he loveth the stille.*

At p. 18 we see *over bord* used of a ship. The replacing of *into* by *on* or *in* is again seen; *it brast on peces*, p. 92.

In p. 175 we find *wel* in the sense of the French *eh bien* at the beginning of a sentence, *wel, whi seistow so?*

Some Scandinavian words appear; such as *busk* (parare), from *bua sig*, 'to betake himself;' *stilt*, from the Swedish *stylta*, a support. To *hobble*, which is here found, is akin to a Dutch word meaning 'to jog up and down.' *Stout* is also pure Dutch. At p. 42 we find *stormes bistayd hem*; this new form, something like *beset*, is akin to the High German.

There are rimed versions of two supposed Charters of King Athelstane's to Beverley and Ripon; these seem to

belong to 1280; they are in Kemble's Collection, II. 186. The forms are very like those of the Yorkshire Psalter; the *e* is often doubled. We find the line *clark, prest, parson, or cherel*; *persona* was Englished by *parson*, following the French usage. The *ye* was wrongly written for *you*; *þan say I ye*; *give I ye*. There is *na man sal have at do*; the last two words, a Scandinavian form, have become the parent of our *ado*; we have turned an Infinitive *facere* into a Noun for *negotium*.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(1290.)

'To this date seems to belong the Debate of the Body and the Soul, printed in the Poems of Walter Mapes, 334, (Camden Society). It may have been compiled somewhere near Rugby, for there is a mixture of Southern and Midland speech. Some of Orrmin's forms are repeated, as *thou was, sumwat*; the Participle *ȝlowende*; his *ner* (neque) now becomes *nor*, p. 334. There is *thertil, ding, to and fro, kirke, renne, are*, as in the Havelok; and the *trotevale* (nonsense) a peculiar word found a few years later in South Lincolnshire.[1] *Asise* is cut down to *sise*, another link with that county. *Cloches* (clutches) is seen; it came before in the Warwickshire version of the Ancren Riwle; *to rìde on heiȝe horse* (p. 337), is repeated in the Alexander, a few years later; that poem too may belong to Warwickshire. On

[1] Has the last syllable anything in common with *tilly vally*, upon which the Laird of Monkbarns discourses so learnedly?

the other hand, the Southern forms in the present work are *lutel, i-kud, habbe, nis, honden, he* (illi). We find both *suwilk* and *suwiche* for *talis*; *als* and *as, with* and *mit, mikkel* and *michel*: the poem is a work compiled close to the Great Sundering Line.

The *sley* (sapiens) of the Havelok now becomes *sly*, p. 339; and *god* (bonus) becomes *guod*, p. 334; we see the Vowel in its passage from the old sound of *o* to our modern sound *u*, the French *ou*. The Consonants are much clipped; *sawe* (vidi) becomes *sau*; the old *siþþan* (post), is pared down to *sin*, p. 335; and this, like *trotevale*, is repeated in a South Lincolnshire work, a dozen years later. *Didst* (fecisti) becomes *dist*. There is a curious combination of consonants in *joyȝe* (joy). The *brunstan* (sulfur) of Northern England now becomes *brunston*, p. 339; the *u* was elsewhere changed into *i*. An *l* is inserted into Layamon's Verb *sturten*, without changing the sense; in p. 335 is *come thouȝ sterte-linde*; the meaning here is rather different from our *startle*.

The Adjective *minde* now adds a new meaning to its old sense *memor*; we hear at p. 336 that a man is *mynde* (inclined) *to the world*; this is repeated in the Lincolnshire work above referred to. We still say, 'I have a good mind to &c.' as well as 'mind you do it.'

In Verbs, we light upon our expletive *ic seyȝe* (I say), coming at the beginning of a sentence, p. 335. So lost was the governing principle of the old inflexions, that a new form of the Auxiliary Verb is struck off; *ic mot, þu most*, were not understood, and *thou mostist* (debuisti) is seen. We have seen *fledde* as a new Perfect of the Verb

fleon (fugere); this is now found as the Past Participle, *thine frend beon fledde*, p. 334. We have already marked in the poems of 1270, *betere is tholien than nomen*; this Infinitive was now made to imitate the Active Participle; at p. 338 comes *merci criende lutel availede, crying* mercy (petere misericordiam) little availed.'[1] After this, it was easy to look upon *criende*, not as a Gerundial Infinitive, but as an Active Participle, and to write it *crying*. The whole of this subject is perhaps the most debated point in our English tongue; I hope I have in this work thrown some light upon it. Within the last six hundred years, a great load has been cast on our ending *ing*; it represents (1) the old Southern *inde*, the ending of Active Participles; (2) the old *ung* of Verbal Nouns; (3) the old Infinitive *an* and *en*, as in the case just quoted. All three usages are found in the one sentence: '*Hearing* the *roaring*, without *stirring*, I looked.' No. 1 and No. 2 seem to be jumbled together in the phrase, 'They left beating of Paul.' Owing to this confusion, a wholly new English idiom was produced about 1770. Where the English Gospels of 1000 have *wyle he faran* (St. John vii. 35), Wickliffe has, *he is to goyinge*. Dr. Morris traces this usage down to about the year 1500. In the Poem now discussed, p. 336, we find the contrary form, *to sunne was my kinde*, 'it was my nature to sin.'

We have already seen *with* used to express the Latin *ab*; and in this poem, p. 335, comes *blowen with the wind*.

[1] In the *Essex Homilies* of 1180, p. 39, we find *to wuniende . . . . and to driven*; both of these forms alike represent the old Gerundial Infinitive. Mätzner (III. 77) gives many Fourteenth Century examples of the use of this perplexing *ing*.

In the page before, this *with* seems to express the Latin *per*; *now with thi selve thouȝ art forlorn.*

A French idiom here appears in English, something like *si vieux hom com estes*; our *as* seems to get the meaning of *quamvis*. The poet, in p. 339, says, 'Christ shielded me, *a sunful man as I lay thore.*'

At p. 337 we hear of a *bothelere* in charge of *sheep*; this new word reminds us of the dwellers in a Scotch *bothie*. In the specimen that follows, *hw* is written ȝw.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(1290.)

ȝwan I bad to leve pride,
thi manie mes,[a] thi riche schroud,
The false world that stode biside
bad the be ful quoynte and proud;
Thi fleychs with riche robes schride,[b]
nouȝt als a beggare in a clouȝt;
And on heiȝe horse to ride,
with mikel meyné in and ouȝt.
ȝwan I bad the erliche to rise,
nim on me thi soule kep.[c]
Thouȝ seidest thouȝ miȝtest a none wise
forgon the murie morwe[d] slep.
ȝwan ȝe hadden set your sise,[e]
ye thre traytours, sore I wep;
Ye ladde me wid oure enprise,
as te bothelere doth is schep.
ȝwan thre traitours at a tale
togidere weren agein me sworn.
Al ye maden trotevale[f]
that I haved seid biforn.

[a] feast
[b] cover
[c] thought
[d] morning
[e] made your arrangement
[f] mock

Ȝe ledde me bi doune and dale,
as an oxe bi the horn,
Til ther as him is browen bale,
ther his throte schal be schorn.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.
(1290.)

We redeth i þe holi godspelle of to dar þat ure lord ihesu crist yede one time into ane ssipe and ise deciples mid him into þe see. And so hi were in þo ssipe so aros a great tempeste of winde. And ure lord was i-leid him don to slepe ine þo ssipe, er þane þis tempeste aroos. Hise deciples hedde gret drede of þise tempeste, so awakede hine, and seiden to him, lord, save us, for we perisset. And ha wiste wel þet hi ne hadde nocht gode beleave ine him; þo seide to hem; what dret yw, folk of litle beliave. Þo aros up ure lord and tok þane wynd and to see, and al-so raþe hit was stille.

This forms a part of the few Kentish Sermons, printed by Dr. Morris in his 'Old English Miscellany' (Early English Text Society), p. 32; they are translated from the French. We see the old forms, especially the Article in its three Genders, lingering on in Kent, long after they had been dropped elsewhere. This shire, where Hengist landed, preserved his speech with peculiar carefulness; nearly two hundred years after 1290, as Caxton tells us, the Kentish tongue sounded most strange in the ears of other Englishmen. We here find forms that remind us of the Homilies of 1120, such as *fer* (ignis), *senne* (peccatum), *furti* (quadraginta),

apiered (visus est), where the *ie* of the South East is forced into a French word. The Vowel-combinations in *thief, leaf, reef*, have but one sound (formerly the French *ê*, but now the French *i*); the three forms come from different parts of England, much to the puzzlement of foreigners. The *tirgen* (fatigari) of East Anglia now becomes *targi* (morari), p. 36; the Old English word has got confused with the French *targier*; we now make a difference between *tire* and *tarry*. In the same page we find *yare* (auris), and something similar is written in a famous Kentish work fifty years later; this seems to show the oldest pronunciation of the English *eare*. So strong was the Southern leaning to *o* in the place of *a*, that the foreign *angel* is here written *ongel*. The Dorsetshire *u* had not replaced *i* in Kent, for we find *wyman* and *michel*. The *o* is doubled, as in *goodman*. What had been written *Giwes* is now cut down to *Geus*, just as we sound the word *Jews*, p. 26.

On turning to the Consonants: we see that Kent, like East Anglia, employed forms like *sal* for *shall*, *thefte*, *maden* (fecerunt). There is both *loverd* and *lord*; the old guttural in *laghe* (lex) is kept as strictly as in Yorkshire; but there are tokens of a coming change, for we find both *felaghe* (socius) and *felarede*, p. 31. The *nicht* (nox) and *nocht* (non) still keep the guttural. The new Participle in *ing* had not yet overrun Kent, which is far from Worcestershire. The *h* at the beginning of a word is sometimes clipped, and sometimes wrongly prefixed. The *v* instead of *f* was making way. There is *siche* (talis) as well as *swiche*; and the former may still be heard in our days. In p. 32 *sollie*

is put for *shall ye*; this is the forerunner of a corruption now widely spread, like '*do'ee now.*' The sound of the *g* had become so softened in many instances, that *tojanes* is written for *togeanes*, p. 26. The form *kink* (rex) shows how strongly the *g* in *king* was sounded.

In Substantives, there is a falling away from the old standard; the writer prefers *fer of helle* to *helle-fer*. The word *yldo* had been used of old for both *ætas* and *senectus*; we see in p. 35 a budding tendency to express the latter by *elde*, and the former by the new French word *âge*, already employed in the Horn. *Hepenesse* is used in p. 26 for the old *hæpennes*; this looks like a copying of the French ending.

The Verbal Nouns were coming in everywhere; *beringe* stands for *birth*, in p. 26. The old *hælend* had long gone out; *helere* appears in its place, which had already been used twice before this time. The preacher addresses his flock as *lordinges and levedis*; we should now say, 'Ladies and gentlemen.' A new word, *goodman*, p. 33, Englishes *paterfamilias*. It is worth while to trace how a meaning leaps from word to word; I place the old sense above the new sense in each:

Goodman	1. Bonus homo. 2. Paterfamilias.
Husbonde	1. Paterfamilias. 2. Colonus.
Bonde	1. Colonus. 2. Servus.

Here we see three English words, all within the Thirteenth Century, add wholly new senses to their old

meanings. This shifting of ideas from word to word is most strange.

An Old English idiom is kept up in, *a sik man seyde 'Lord, Lord,' ha seide &c.*, p. 31; this repetition may be still heard.

A new idiom is found in p. 30: *lecherie, spusbreche, roberie, ... þurch wyche þinkes,* &c.; here a new Substantive, *things*, is coupled with the Relative, to represent several other Substantives.

There is a strange union in p. 28; we read *si mirre signefiet vastinge . . . . . go ine pelrimage . . . . and to do alle þe gode,* &c. Here we have the Verbal Noun, the pure Infinitive, and the Infinitive with *to*, all governed by one Verb.

The *swa* of the Blickling Homilies starts to life again, in the sense of *igitur*; in p. 32, 'they feared, *so* they waked him.' The word *al-so* is used for *sicut* in p. 28, a remnant of the Old English form *ealswa*; elsewhere this *also* stood for *etiam*. There is a new Verb, *glare*, akin to the Low German.

In the Egerton Manuscript of this time ('Old English Miscellany,' p. 198) we see the new phrase, *of þe king he meden* (made) *game*.

The Digby Manuscript seems to have been drawn up about 1290, and contains poems of the previous twenty years: like Layamon's Second Text, it may belong to Hertfordshire; for, amidst many Southern forms, we find *sal* for *shall*; *til*; and the writer has gone out of his way to write *þat* (illud), in the Harrowing of Hell, p. 35. The Passive Voice was widening its bounds, for at p. 21 comes, he *was don some* (shame). *Lording* is

put for *loverding*, in the East Anglian way. The old *manræden*, *manrede* (homage) was at this time well understood in the North, and long survived in Scotch law deeds as *manrent*; but the meaning of the word had been lost in the South; the present compiler has altered *manrede* at p. 26 into *mani redes*, making great nonsense of the passage. It was the North that kept old Teutonic words, while the South let them slip. The Poet could not understand *þou bilevest all þin one* in the same page (manes tu solus), and so turns it absurdly into *þou letest þe alone*.[1] He has the Southern forms *hy* (illi), *sorewen*, *undo* (not *undon*), and the old Accusative of the Article, *þene*. The French form *neweu* (nephew) is preferred to the Old English *nefe*, (p. 21); and this became common all through Southern England.

Some Herefordshire pieces, from the Lyric Poems and the Political Songs (both quoted above at p. 373), seem to belong to 1290. The old Imperative *blawe* had become first *blowe* and then *blou* (p. 51, Lyric P.); the community of sound between *aw* and *ou* could not be more strongly marked. The old *hreaw* (crudus) is now pared down to *raw* (p. 37, Political S.). A new idiom, repeated afterwards in another Western poem, that of Piers Ploughman, comes in p. 52 (Lyric P.); we hear of *legges, fet, ant al*; here *all* has a backward reference to several foregoing Nouns. We find the phrases, *twynglyng of an eze, y make mournyng*. At p. 52 (Lyric P.) comes *God wolde hue* (illa) *were myn!* Here the *wolde* is Optative; a few years later, we shall find the

[1] Neither Halliwell, nor even Garnett (see his *Essays*, p. 121), could understand this passage in its first shape.

two first words transposed. In p. 54 we read, *heo wolle dele of bote with the*; this new idiom with the *of* seems to come from the French *dispose of, partake of.* In p. 106 *up* becomes almost a Verb; *up ant be god champioun.* The proper name Colyn appears; also the Icelandic *tyke* (canis), still in Yorkshire use. There are the Low Dutch words *momel* (mumble) and *poll* (caput); there is also *pate*; it may come from the *plat* crown of a priest's head. There are the Celtic words, *capel* (caballus), and *goblin* (p. 238, Political S.); this last comes afterwards in Piers Ploughman, who wrote not far from Hereford.

These Herefordshire poems lead to the mention of an Old English Charter, modernised not long after this in the same county, (Kemble, IV. 218); about this time the French *faverable* must here have been inserted. In the Rubric the document is said to be, *carta in linguâ Saxonicâ translata in linguam Anglicanam.* This is one of the first instances of the mischievous distinction made by our wiseacres between the English of 1066 and the English of 1300; the Germans and the Irish have been too wise to write nonsense of this kind; they set some store by the continuity of the names of their respective tongues. Robert of Gloucester, about 1300, opposes, though most seldom, Saxons to Normans; the Chronicles of 1066 talked of *English*, not of *Saxons.* In a Catalogue of Glastonbury Manuscripts, drawn up in 1248, the old national Homilies, a sealed book to that generation, were described as *Sermones Anglici.*[1]

[1] See *Seinte Marherete*, notes, p. 77.

About 1290, the long poem called the 'Cursor Mundi' was translated from the French; most likely in the North of Yorkshire.[1] We have not the original translation, for even the oldest version we possess often mistakes a word. The Scandinavian element is most obvious; there are forms like *thir*, our *these* (p. 24), a phrase that long lingered in Scotch law papers; also *Goddote*, in p. 220; *Jursalem*, p. 530; with other such, hereafter to be noticed. In p. 1240, the Icelandic form *stanga* (pungere) is preferred to the English *stingan*. In p. 792, *heliand*, the Icelandic *heiland*, stands for the Verbal Noun *healing*. The piece cannot well be dated after 1290; for there are five obsolete Teutonic words in every fifty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs; if we looked only at the obsolete Teutonic, we must date the piece about 1260; if we looked only at the vast proportion of French words, we must put it as late as 1340. In this strange proportion of the Old and the New, the Cursor Mundi stands alone in English; no more important piece has ever been printed, and Dr. Morris has done it full justice.

In the Cursor Mundi, it is most important to pay attention to the change in the sounds of the Vowels: this change soon prevailed all over Northern England and Scotland; it made its way to London about the year 1600, where it altered the sound, but not the spelling, of

[1] The plainest traces of the French original may be found in p. 1272; where we are told that French kings ought to wield the Roman Empire:

> For in þaa kinges sal it stand
> Ai to-quils þai ar lastand.

The last of all Roman Emperors is to be a King of France, who will go to Jerusalem, and there yield up his crown to Christ.

English words. Northern words and idioms had long been working down Southwards; the sound of Northern Vowels was, about 1600, to make the conquest of the South. *A* here replaces *e*, as *hared* (vastavit), *farr* (remotus), *warren* (pugnare); *ræs* (cursus) becomes *ras*. *A* replaces *i*, as *wat yee* (scitis) p. 996; it replaces *o*, as *suar*, (juravit), a corruption which Tyndale has brought into our Bible. In some words the Southern *a* was now sounded in the North like the French *é*; there is *nain* (nullus), *sten* (lapis), *draif* (pepulit), *der* (audeo). The *a* replaces *y* in p. 710, where *hyrwe* becomes *haru*, our *harrow*. The *a* is dropped altogether in 'he drogh him *bak*,' p. 908, and *mang* (inter), p. 698; also *bide* (manere). The French *paralysie* is cut down to *parlesi*, p. 678, and was long peculiar to the North. We see by the rime that in *Ys-a-i* all three vowels were distinctly sounded. The *au* seems to have been pronounced like the French *ou*, for the old *lâwed* (indoctus) is here written *laud*, and *Rauland* stands for the French *Roland*, p. 8, showing the interchange between *o* and *ou*. The *e* was sounded very broadly in the North, as we find *yeit* (adhuc); Orrmin's *Jude* (Judæa), is repeated here, and is still known as *Judee* in America; the *e* replaced the *o* of the South, for we find *enent* (anent); it was dropped before *u*, for there is *Hebru*; the *e* at the end of a word vanishes, as in *bridal*; also at the beginning, for we find *Spaigne* for *Espaigne*, the *Ispanie* of 1087. The *i* replaced *e*, as in *this are* (hæc sunt); the Icelandic *blinda* (cæcare) comes instead of the Old English *blendan*, *gli* (gaudium) instead of *gle*; *winnes* (putat) instead of *wenes*; *stile*, *hir*, are to be found, the sound of which we keep in *steel* and

here. The Perfect *spœtte* becomes *spitt*, p. 776, which is still improperly used by us. *I* replaces *u*, for the *brunstan* (sulphur) of the Northern Psalter now becomes *brinstan*, p. 170, not far from our *brimstone*. The old *cwell* (occidere) now becomes *cole*, on the way to our *kill*; in the Southern version, it is replaced by *spille*, p. 186. What had been written *aru* (sagitta) in the North, is now seen as *aro*, p. 576, just as we now pronounce the word; *follow*, *harrow*, and such like words were to take their new sound rather later. On the other hand, the *u* or *ou* was making great encroachments on the *o*; we find *foul* (stultus), *buk* (liber), *dus* (facit), *pur* (pauper), *sun* (mox), *dum* (judicare), *bute* (remedium), *lousen* (solvere), and many such; this is repeated later in the Townley Mysteries, which belong to Yorkshire. Our doubling the *o* to express the sound of the French *ou* reminds us that these words above cited once had the sound of *o*. The *u* is inserted; *fæþm* becomes *fathum* (fathom) at p. 136. The *destru* at p. 378, shows what was the old sound of our *destroy*. The old *œlmesse* becomes *almus*, the *awmous* of Scott; see p. 1132.

As to the Consonants: *b* is clipped at the beginning of a word, for *betwix* becomes *twix*, p. 404; *biheafding* becomes *hefding*, as in 'hanging and heading:' *umbehwile* is seen as *umquhile*. The *p* is inserted, as *dempt* (damnatus), p. 1316; this must be an imitation of the French form. The *f* is cast out, for *onefent* becomes *enent* (anent), p. 1316; this letter in *gifan* is much mauled; in p. 38 we see *gis* (dat), and in p. 304 *gin* (datum), just as the Scotch sound these words now.

We find the proper name *Steven*, with the modern sound of the last three letters. The *g* disappears altogether in the middle of *herberd*, *herbergean*, (harboured), p. 886; we find forms like *sigh*, *laghter*, and *rugh* (rough); sometimes the guttural at the end is dropped, as in *bu* (ramus), and *þou* (quamvis); *noht* is replaced by *not*. The French *utrage* becomes *outrake*, p. 244. The *c* is inserted, when *swilk* (talis) becomes *squilk*, p. 194; and this insertion is most common in the Lancashire version of the poem. It is curious to find the old form *biscop* still lingering in the North, p. 1208. The *d* is cast out, *godspel* now turning into *gospel*; the *t* often stands for the old *d* at the end of Verbs, as in *lent*, *reft*, *wont*. The *noght but* of the North now becomes *nobot* (tantùm) p. 1300; a word that Wickliffe loved. We find *mell* (miscere), p. 1294, which may come either from the Icelandic or the French.[1] The tendency to contraction is shown in an Apostle's name being pared down to *Bartillmeu*, p. 762; hence comes our *Bartle*. There is a fondness for casting out *l*, *m*, and *n*; *carman* replaces *carlman* (homo), and *foke* (p. 692) stands for *folk* much as we now sound the word. A famous Northern form is first seen in p. 1292, where *a*, riming with *fra*, stands for *all*. At p. 318, *forme fader* follows the Scandinavian *forfaðir*, and becomes *forfader*, our *forefather*; this form was unknown in the South, and is written in the Southern Version, *formaste fadir*. The *n* is dropped at the end of *mine* and *thine*, even when they come before Vowels; we see forms like *þi auen*, p. 224, and *mi ught*, p. 392, the old *on*

[1] Wickliffe talks of 'wyn *meddelid* with myrre.'

middan is now *emedd*, our *amid*, p. 66. The *r* is added to words; the old *lenge* (morari) becomes *lenger*, p. 42; and *nithemest* (infimus) is seen as *nethermast*, p. 532. We also find the *r* inserted in *anerli* (anli, only), p. 1318; the *allenarly* of Scotch law documents is well known. The *r* is transposed in the middle of a word; the old *purlen* (perforare) becomes *thril*, p. 678; the *foriner*, (præcursor), at p. 758, is a most shortened form of our *fore-runner*. There is the curious French form of writing *x* for *s*, (Deus, Dex), so often found in the 'Paston Letters'; *flexs* is here written for *flesh*. The *s* is clipped at the end of a word; for *rædels* (ænigma) becomes *redel* at p. 412, though the old form lingered on in the South. The Latin *Julius* is pared down to *July*, p. 8; whence comes one of our months. On the other hand, *s* is added to *alway*, for we light on our *alwais*, p. 356. The *w* is thrown out, for we find *wantun*, p. 686, for the old *wan-itowen* (lascivus).

As to Substantives, we have already seen how *ness* was employed in the Northern Psalter as a favourite ending; we now find new coinages, such as *selines* and *drednes*; *bliscednes* (blessedness) appears for the first time, p. 976. At p. 436 it is hinted that Goliath trusts in his *irinnes* (armour); and this word rimes with *wrangwisnes*, formed after the pattern of *riktwisnes*. On the other hand, the new form *Iu-hede* (p. 250) expresses Judaism; there is also *takenhid* (significatio), p. 1242. We find new Substantives, like *donfall* (downfall), *incom* (entrance, the Scandinavian *innkvâma*), *stancast* (Scandinavian *steinkast*), *windingclath*, *step*, *stint*, *crak*; *fute man*, already used in the Lindisfarne Gospels, is now

repeated. But on the other hand, the old *ness* is sometimes cut off; the former *widnesse* now becomes *wide*, p. 104, (the Scandinavian *vídd*); it is on the road to our *width*; the old *foreseonnes* (providentia) appears as *forsight*, p. 1138; *scipgebroc* is *scipbreging*, p. 1200.[1] An *underlote*, p. 126, is the full form of what afterwards became *lout*; the Northern phrase *a smitt* comes at p. 1072, and is altered in the other versions into *a whit* and *a deal*; this *smitt* (frustum) may be the parent of *smithereen*. The old *half* is making way for *side*, pp. 532 and 436, when family pedigrees are discussed, and when one person takes another's part. In p. 698 we find the Noun *knaulage* formed from *know*; it seems here to mean *acknowledgment*, and the *age* is not a true French ending, but a confusion of the French form with the Scandinavian *leikr*, as in *kunnleikr*. The Southern version, about sixty years later, turns this *knaulage* into *knowleche*. There are new phrases, such as, *the Lord o mightes* (Lord of hosts), p. 1300; *side and side*, p. 110, like our *neck and neck*; '*the feild* (victoria) *beleft with him*,' p. 442; 'they sought them *don and dale*' (high and low), p. 1008; *þat tim it was*, p. 1341, like Orrmin's *an dazz*; *I ete my fill*, p. 210, like the French *manger son soûl*; *a tuel-moth stage*, p. 424; *gaf a scift to*, p. 602, whence our *made shift to*; *kin and kyth*, p. 734; *make his wai*, p. 1324; *wit wil*, p. 832, whence 'do it with a will;' *o preching had he na mak* (match), p. 1126; *takens þat es na nede all recken*, p. 1088. The old *pith*

[1] Our *wreck* is seen in King John's Latin Charter of 1200, Stubb's *Documents Illustrative of English History*, p. 304; in our Bible we read that 'ships were *broken*.'

(medulla) takes the further meaning of *vires*, p. 48. We see the phrase *mans womb*, p. 33; in the South, *womb* had begun to be restricted to women. We have already heard of Child Horn; in p. 1114 St. Stephen's murderers hand over their clothes to 'a child hight Saulus.' In p. 784 we find *beggar* used as a term of reproach for the first time; 'this beggar wishes to teach us,' say the Jews. In p. 470 comes the phrase *fere* (sanus) *als a fische*, and in p. 682 we find *hale sum ani trute*; we still have the expression 'sound as a roach.' In p. 1330 *fare* adds to its old meaning *iter* the new sense of *victus*. In p. 704 we see, I think for the first time, *an halidai* connected with play. In p. 1320 an old phrase is preserved, *ful wel is him þat* &c. (bona fortuna est illi); this phrase, *O well is thee*, was inserted in our Prayer-book by Coverdale, a Yorkshireman. The Latin *Jacobus* is Englished by *Jacob*, at p. 728; but we also hear of *Jam* at p. 720. The Substantive is sometimes dropped to avoid repetition, as in p. 1232; of three crosses, they knew not which was the Lord's cross and which *moght þe theves be*; here the Substantive *crosses* is dropped before the last word. In p. 1312 a potter spoils his vessel, and then tries *for to mak a better*.

A new Adjective is formed by adding *i* to the root, as *sunni*, p. 1334; this was not understood in the South, and was altered into *somer* (summer) prefixed to *day*. *Les* is added to *law*, as *laules* (exlex) in p. 146, the Scandinavian *löglauss*; there is also *unhappi*, *wili*, *nede* (pauper); new Adjectives are formed by adding *ful*, to the root, as *trenful*, *woful*. The *ilylike* of East Anglia now

becomes *ugli*. *Kind* had hitherto meant *naturalis*; in p. 1146 it gets the further sense of *benignus*; *sua kind ar þou* is addressed to the Virgin. These two senses lingered on side by side for nearly 400 years, as we see in Milton. The dignfied *fus* seems to get our modern sense of *fussy* in p. 18, where it is applied to Martha; in the Southern version it is turned into *bisy*. *Sad* seems to lose the old meaning *satur*, and to get the new sense of *fessus*, not far from our *tristis*, when Adam is said to be *sad of himself*, p. 80; this *sad* becomes *made* in the Southern version. The old *gemæne* kept its sense of *communis* in the South; in the North, the Icelandic *meinn* (vilis) was coming in; in p. 762 *mene men* are opposed to lords; this sense reappears in Manning, the Lincolnshire bard. In p. 282 we hear of *redi peniis*, whence our *ready money*; Orrmin's *redi*, in the sense of *jam*, is repeated in p. 998. In p. 1100 we hear that the Jews, who were eager to seize the Apostles, *war ai curst*; the last word, to judge by the context, seems here to get its Shakesperian meaning, *crabbed*. In p. 70 we read of a *ded ass*; in p. 226 of a *nere cosin*; in p. 1288 of *dumb bestes*; in p. 1080 of a colour that is *nute brun*; in p. 200 of a *mantel of rede*. In p. 36 comes the line—

Fra ful hei he fell ful law.

We light on a phrase well known to our ballad-makers; in p. 1162 St. John *was a ful sari man*; here the Adjective might well stand alone. In p. 184 we hear that Esau was *archer wit best of an*, a most curious idiom that was unknown to the Southern transcriber,

In p. 378 the people were *war* (aware) *o Moyses*. It is seldom that Adjectives ending in *ful* form their Comparative like the *sorfuller* (tristior) of p. 1332.

As to Pronouns: we here first find the greeting *mi levedi* used to the Virgin; this *mi* is cut out of the Southern Version; and the term was not applied to an earthly mistress till about 1440. The process first seen in Orrmin goes on; in p. 1146 stands *hirs am I*; in p. 850 we find *ani of urs* (any of our people); *yours* is also used without any Substantive in p. 294; this is repeated in p. 1034, *noght wit þair might bot his of heven*; the last three words are most terse and concise. In p. 742 Christ is said to fast *his Lententide*; this Possessive *his* is still very common in this sense. This *his* now begins to be used to express the Genitive, as in p. 1220, *þe first his greff*; not 'the first's greff.' The form *þai sai* is used in p. 1206 for the French *on dit*. The old distinctive Masculine and Feminine endings of Substantives had mostly gone out; we now light on the cumbrous Scandinavian idiom that was to replace these endings; in p. 44 is the line—

þe bestes all, bath sco and he.

We afterwards hear of a *he lambe*. Still in p. 590 we read of bairns, *ne mai ne knave*. *It* is used in our Indefinite sense; 'all ought to believe, unless *it* be Saracen or Jew,' p. 1298. We have already seen *that there threat*; we now find *this gilt here*, p. 58. We know how in Latin *hic* and *ille* are opposed to each other; in p. 1350 the contrast between the righteous and the wicked is drawn out for thirty lines by the employment

of the Scandinavian *þir* (hi) and the English *þai*, the old *þa* (illi). This Yorkshire usage much puzzled the Lancashire and Southern transcribers. The Relative idioms abound; there is an evident imitation of the French *li quels* (lequel) in *gyfe þe law, þe quilk* &c.; and this comes very often in this translation. The Relative is dropped altogether after a Noun, as in our easy way; *Loth* ȝe *herd me tell of*, p. 174; here *Loth* should be followed by *that*. The steward talks, in p. 194, of Isaac, and to him the following Relative refers: *at* (to) *seke a wiif to wam, I fare*; this cumbrous construction was unknown earlier. The old *hwœþer* (uter) was unluckily dropping out of use; two children are spoken of in p. 206, and it is asked *quilk o þir tua*; the rightful *hwœþer* remains in our Bible. In p. 534 comes the remarkable new phrase, *he can knaw quilk es quilk* (which is which); in the Southern Version this is altered into *þe ton to knowe þe toþer fro*, for two things are spoken of. We have seen Orrmin's *swillc an*; we now read, in p. 840, *quilk o mi gode dedis an?* Another idiom of Orrmin's is carried a step further in p. 982; *ask quat þou will*; this is a great paring down of the old *swa hwæt swa* (quodcunque). There is a new form in p. 1122; priests ought to preach, *in als mikel als in þaim es*; we now drop the first word *in*; *forasmuch* was soon to arise in Gloucestershire. There is a new phrase in p. 1210: *þat folk ilkan wald oþer stemm*; in our 'they stopped each other,' *each* is the Nominative, *other* the Accusative. *An* had already been used for *man*; in p. 1030 we find it coupled with an Adjective, *þat so myȝty oon*; this Northern phrase was used by Wickliffe long afterwards, as, *a*

ȝong oon (a young un). In p. 162 we find *an allan* (one alone); here the *one* comes twice over. We are amused when we find in Scotch writers, such as Alison, phrases like 'the whole men,' instead of 'all the men.' This is seen in p. 178; he *cald his men hale* (omnes suos vocavit). In p. 972 we find the old *noht* turned into a Substantive; *it were als a noht.* A new idiom is seen in p. 989, *seven myle and a half*; this would have been expressed earlier, like in German and Scandinavian, by *eighth half*; and the older idiom lasted down to 1400. In p. 254 a woman wishes to hear *a word or tua*; here the *a* plainly stands for *an* (one). In p. 1302 there is a new Numeral form, which makes an Adjective stronger; 'it was not *þe tend part sa clere*;' in p. 1352 we find, *an hundret sith fairer.* In the sentence *his fader was ninety and nine*, p. 162, there is a remarkable dropping of the old form *of ninety-nine years*, and this is a wholly new use of the Cardinal number. The word *score* was coming in as a Numeral, *Abram was fivescor and nine*, p. 160. In p. 1136 we read of a linen cloth *four squar*, a most concise phrase.

The use of *did* with the Infinitive, to express the Past tense, is not so common here as it became about 1300. There is a smack of French in the following: 'they told him what tree *it suld hă bene* (erat),' p. 1234; hence our 'whom should I meet, but &c.,' which stands for 'whom did I meet. 'The Verb *mon* seems to be changing its meaning from *erit* to *oportet*; in p. 276 comes *þe folk mon dei*; in the Southern Version *shul deȝe* is substituted, not *wil deȝe*. In p. 1342 we see *þai sal cun tell*

(poterunt dicere); this curious form lasted to about 1500, with the substitution of *mow* for *cun*. In p. 1132 there is a translation of *peut être*, for *wel mai be* comes in the middle of a sentence. The old idiom had been *ic hit eom*, but in p. 778 we find *þat ilk es I*; here, however, the *es* is perhaps the Danish for the Latin *sum*, as in *I'se a lad* (sum puer).[1] There is a new-born conciseness in the phrase *I am and ever sal be hir thrall*, p. 1146. *Can-not* is seen, with its two parts joined, in p. 538. The Participle Absolute had hitherto always been in the Dative, and this lasted down to 1400; but in p. 500 comes, *sco laid it be me, and I slepand in bedd*. The Past Participle of a certain Verb is now used much like a Preposition, and has held its ground in Scotland; in p. 314 we hear that nothing was left, *ute-tan þe landes*; this is the first hint of our *except*. There is a French idiom in p. 806, where *Wel ansuard* (bien répondu), begins a sentence. A curious idiom with the Infinitive, standing for an exclamation, is seen in p. 890; St. Peter says, *I to leve þe þus!* hence our 'to think of that!'[2] There is a great shortening in the phrase *lok ȝee do þus*, p. 160. *Became* had long stood for *factus est*; a further advance is made in p. 626, *he es bicummen sun*. The change from *esse* to *fuisse*, after a Verb, has been seen already in the Havelok; in p. 1026 a man comes,

þat semed wel to have ben eremyte.

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[1] Wickliffe has the old *ȝe it ben, that*, in St. Luke xvi. 15. Tyndale has here. *ye are they, which*.

[2] There is something like this in the Choruses towards the end of Æschylus' *Eumenides*.

In p. 998 appears the strange idiom *we sal yeild Joseph yee sal se*; this was not understood in the South. Another instance of a now familiar phrase crops up in p. 746: *þis was not he, yee sal tru*, or, as we should say, *you must know*; in the Southern Version it is altered into *wite ȝe wele*. In p. 1358 stands 'there are many of us, *I drede*, that &c.;' this must have been a peculiarly Yorkshire phrase, for the Lancashire and Southern Versions have altered it. In p. 1058 stands *quen we sal haf halden*, Orrmin's new form of the Subjunctive mood, which we most likely owe to the French, and which long sounded strange to English ears. In p. 856 Christ says, *mi suinc standes me for noght*, an unusnal form. The old phrase 'man sends for me' was now dropped in the North; it was being replaced by the Passive voice; in p. 806 comes *he þat was mast forgiven till*; in p. 814, *I am send after*. This is one of the early instances of the wonderfully free handling that the Passive Voice was to undergo in England; Lord Palmerston wrote in 1848, 'he was offered to be Nuncio at Paris,' (Life, by Ashley, I. 51). In p. 138 comes a double Accusative: *he reft þam liif*; as we still say, 'he fined him a pound.' We come upon such phrases as, *he gaf a batell, to set aboute, he tok hit til hert, she did him to be spilt, he hitte on þam, folk fell to þair lare, they ware mette, þis forsaid Mari, penis suilk als ran* (such as were current); *yee er made freindes, tak til ur wittnes, the wai takes us, saiand mi bede* (my prayer), *com to hand, nil we wil we*. We must remark in the Cursor Mundi the following, which smack of Scandinavia. 'To give back' (regredi) reminds us that *gefa upp* means *cessare*. 'Tok his flight' brings

to mind the phrase *taka flótta.* 'The dais was runnen ute' (in the South, *were al gone*, p. 869); we know that the Scandinavian *renna* was transitive as well as intransitive. 'It fell Petre to call,' reminds us that the Scandinavian *fall to* means *accidere.* We find 'to *head* or hang;' the first Verb is the Scandinavian *höfða.* The word *get* adds to its old meaning of *adipisci* that of *ire*, something like *niman*; in p. 456 the *marscal* is ordered to see that Uriah *suld never gette awai.* This Yorkshire phrase is often found in the Percival, which belongs to the same date and place. The Scandinavian *geta sjá* means 'get to see;' here the *get* means something like *venire.* Long afterwards, *get* acquired a third meaning, that of *fieri*; in our every-day talk, we work this Verb *get* very hard. The Verb *lætan* (sinere) takes a fresh meaning, for in p. 1138 a cloth *was laten* (let down). The Verb *bredan* had meant *fovere*; in p. 1202 it means *educare*, for St. John is there said to have been *bred* by Christ. The Verb *win* gets a new sense, *pervenire*, in p. 1214; this is common in Scotland. In p. 1224 *bersten* (burst) adds the sense of *ruere* to its old sense of *rumpere.* In p. 832 Orrmin's word *dwell* (morari) is used in the further sense of *habitare*; this word was to drive out the old Verb *won.* *Spare*, in p. 1322, means something beyond *parcere*; it is *aliis prœbere*; this is something like one of the Scandinavian senses of the word. The old *reafian* (rapere) gets the further meaning of *trahere*; in p. 1006 stands *he es reft awai*; the French *ravist* is used in the same sense; it comes a few lines lower down; the one word may have influenced the other. In p. 1016 a man is *bidand* (expectans) *to*

se; this Infinitive after *bidand* was not understood by the compilers of the three other versions. In p. 1066 *un* is prefixed to a Participle, *undeiand* (undying). In p. 1084 we find *to muth a langage*; this new word for *loqui* (it is the Scandinavian *muðla*) was not understood in the South. In p. 64 *þu gafe* (dedisti) is corrupted into *þou gafs*; we have seen this change before. In p. 74 *cnawen* (notum) is turned into *knaud*, which may still sometimes be heard. In p. 114 a French Verb takes a Strong Perfect in English, a thing almost unheard of; we hear that the rain *ne fane* (fined not, *non cessavit*); the Scotch verdict, *not proven*, is in our days the nearest approach to this Strong form. So common had the use of *ye* for *tu* become in the North that it influenced the Imperative mood; in p. 270 is *nai, sir, tas noght* &c. (ne capias). The Verb is sometimes dropped for the sake of avoiding repetitions, as in p. 1140, 'Cornelius fears the Lord, *na man more*.' The Passive Participle *stade* (constitutus) comes over and over again in this work; in p. 90 it is written *staid*; perhaps our Verb *stay* may come from this, as well as from the French *estaier*. In p. 1360 comes *þar es na mending þe stat*. This is a further development of the Transitive Verbal Noun; the Accusative now comes after it, not before it, as in *beam-cennung*. In p. 1344 the new Noun *being* is formed from *be*, to express *essentia*.

Among Adverbs, we find *forqui* put into the middle of a sentence, just before a reason is given, p. 92; hence the *cos why* that we so often hear. We have now an expression, 'it is the best thing out;' this may be seen

in p. 98, *þe sin þat þan was ute* (in being). In p. 830, each man holds his office, *his tuelvemoth ute.* This last word supplies the loss of the old *þurh* formerly prefixed to Verbs; *haf yee þe dais al fasten ute?* p. 380. We see in p. 728, the first hint of the Irish *at all at all* (omnino); *fless he ne ete of al and al*; this is the Scotch *ava.* The Scandinavian *of allt* means, 'in every respect.' The poet is fond of dropping the *ne* that should come before *but*; *folk wil but foli do*, p. 108; the *but* was now Englishing *tantùm*, as we saw much earlier. Another form of this, whence comes the Yorkshire *nobbut*, is found in p. 1216; *þat was noght bot for to fle*; in the other Versions, *for* comes before the *noght.* The old *als lang sai* (swa) 'as long as,' appears in p. 1170; but the other Versions have altered it into *to-quiles* and *whil.* We use *as for* pretty often now; it is seen in p. 156, *I might hald it als for mine.* In p. 196 the Adverbial ending is fastened on to the Active Participle; *sittandlik*, which in the Southern Version is altered into *sittyngly.* In p. 330 comes *sin quen* (since when) in a question; and *fra þis time forth* is in p. 240. *Behind* is used in a wholly new sense, that of *deficiens*; a man *es behind for þovert*, p. 352; as we say, 'he is behind with his money.' The old *bæftan* (post) is now changed into *o baft*, our sailors' *abaft.* The *away* was used to express intensity; *he dried away* (tabescebat) p. 690. We have seen *hal* in the sense of *integer*; a new Adverb is now formed from this, to replace the lost *eallunga*; *he sal be hali given* is in p. 502; the Southern Version puts *hool* for this new *hali*, our *wholly.* *Still* comes again in the Northern sense of

toujours, p. 742. We find *contra* Englished by *on oper side*, p. 748; this is of a woman balancing arguments. An Adverb might be compounded by simply adding *i* to a Noun, as *develi*, p. 824; we use now the more cumbrous *diabolically*; there is also *folili* (stultè) page 1332. In p. 824 we hear of a person being *sa mighti meke*, whence comes Pepys' *mighty merry*; *swipe* (valdè) was now unhappily going out. In p. 830 we have the first hint of our doing things *turn about*.

Biscops war þai þan abute,
Ilkan bot his tuelvemoth ute.

The confusion between Adjectives and Adverbs is very plain; a house is *commli dight*, p. 870. In p. 1054, a man is said to be *ungodli* (inhonestè) *gert*. The Danish *sum* is used for the English *swa* or *as*; in p. 936 is the phrase *sa feir se sum I can* (as far as I can see). In p. 1336 comes the new form *hu sum ever* (how so ever). In p. 1028 comes, *he may gete hit no wayes*; the last word stands for the old *wise*. We find phrases like *fra ferr and ner*, *go wrong*, *negh at hand*, *þar apon*, *herefterward*. In p. 402 is a wholly new adverbial form, *quen þat þai yede*; a similar High German form is found. By the side of the old *sopli*, a new word for *verè* crops up; in p. 284 comes, *I yow sai truli*; this in the Southern Version is altered into *witterly*. To this day our *true* will English both *fidus* and *verus*; *sooth* has almost wholly dropped out of sight. A *true* man (not a thief) keeps the old sense *honestus*; so we have had to invent *truthful*, to express another shade of meaning. The word *namli* had hitherto meant *præcipuè*; it is now made to repre-

sent the Norse *nefniliga*, (by name, expressly); we see in p. 1094 *þa Saduceis,—namli þat lede &c.*, (videlicet).

The Preposition *of* is used in new senses; *it smelles o piement*, p. 218; *þay had might o þam selven*, p. 206; hence Pope's *mistress of herself*; Adam waxed *sad* (fessus) *of himself*, p. 80; *we mak ur fa of ur freind*, p. 1076. In p. 1304 comes the *eild* (age) *o thritte yere*. We have already seen *to miss of a thing*; we now find, p. 682, *to fail of ur art*; this is strange, as the French *faillir* was not followed by *de*. This *of* is prefixed to Verbal Nouns; St. Paul is called a *wessele o mi chesing* in p. 1126. As to *at*, we come upon *at ese*, p. 112; *at an acord*, p. 1344: *at þair talking þam tenid sare* (irati sunt), p. 1094. *To* is not far removed from *at*; we here find, *it lay to hand*, p. 148; *bete him to þe blod*, p. 926; *kest of al to his serk* (shirt), p. 1232. In p. 1104 comes *mani seke* (sick) *unto þam soght*; this foreshadows our version of Deuteronomy xii. 5; 'unto the place shall ye seek.' The Icelandic *sœkja til* means 'have recourse to.' We see the *that* dropped after a Preposition in p. 164; *þou sal have barn bi I cum*. A new phrase is used to express intention; something is done, '*bi wai to* do þe for to se,' p. 1128. *With* is much used; *wit quam it es noght at ham*, p. 252; *mad an wit his godd-hed*, p. 1076; *he tok his hin* (lodging) *wit Nichodeme*, p. 1012; *wit þi leve*, p. 984; *quat yee will wit me*, p. 1140; the French must have had much influence here. The *up* is used in the Scandinavian way, to intensify a Verb, as *þe folk mon dei up*, p. 276, like our *follow up, use up*; though we may also say *kill down*. A new phrase comes in p. 426; *seven suns in all*. *On*, as

usual, marks hostility ; *dome es given on us*, p. 954 ; it also marks a state of future activity; the Apostles *bigan to fal apon a gret* (fletus), p. 890; Defoe would have written it, ' to fall a weeping,' an idiom which lasted to 1790. The French idiom *pour* (quod attinet ad), already seen in the St. Katherine, is repeated ; *he sal for me be bunden* ; the Southern transcriber was puzzled by the newfangled idiom (which is also the Scandinavian *fyrir mer*) and wrote *bifore me*. The Dorsetshire *in stede* is now made one word, *in-sted o*, p. 74. Two Prepositions are coupled, in the phrase, ' he took them *to beside* the cross,' p. 1246.

In p. 818, we see *or* used as it often is in poetry now ; it is prefixed to two different Nouns in one sentence; *qua trous in me, or man or wiif, þai sal &c.*

There are here many new Interjections, derived from the French, that have taken root in our tongue. It is this class of words that the poorer classes are most apt to copy from their betters ; French Interjections are easily pronounced, and give a supposed air of refinement to every-day talk. In p. 248 comes *ha ! quat þaa bestes war kene !* it is plain that the two first words of the French original must have been *ha que.* In p. 286 comes *ha, ha, traiturs !* in p. 682, this is, *Aha, traiturs !* Herod, who utters this in his torment, deals in much hearty French abuse, like *fiz aputains.* In p. 696, they all cry *ho !* a Scandinavian Interjection. In p. 256 is *Godd forbedd I suld him suike !* this became afterwards so idiomatic that it was used to English the *μὴ γένοιτο* of the Greek Testament. In p. 1288 stands *A Laverd!* at the beginning of a sentence, just as Pepys uses *Lord !* when he is

astonished at anything. In p. 34 comes *herk* (*hark*) for the first time; it is addressed to a mob. A new phrase is in p. 242; *lo quâr þe dremer es cummen*, where *lo* is followed by an Adverb. Our *why* is here used simply as an expletive; in p. 222 comes *wi, quatkin consail mai I þe give?* In p. 1186 stands *allas, for schame!* here the *for* must stand for the Latin *ob*; we now use the Interjection *for shame!* without the *alas*, which governed it.

Some English words are further developed: thus from the old *crumb* (curvus) is formed *crumpled*, p. 466; *grub*,[1] a new form of the old *grafan* (fodere) is seen in p. 390. The Verb *swedel* (swaddle) is first seen in p. 644, coming from the old Noun *swepel* (fascia). We hear of a *snau drif* for the first time in p. 570; and of a *scott* (a shot, missile) in p. 576; this last is Scandinavian. In p. 532 comes *to-name* (agnomen), a strange form common to both Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The *cove* (specus) of the Lindisfarne Gospels is repeated in p. 666. Some puzzling words are now for the first time found; such as *bad* (malus), *lass* (puella), *balled* (calvus), *midwife*, which is said to mean 'a woman who comes for meed.' In p. 28, a thing is said to be done faster than eye may wink; we should now say, 'it was done like winking.'

There are some English words here common to the Dutch and German; such as *dulken* (mergere), *lump*, *creul* (serpere), *poke* (trudere), *blow* (plaga), *lazas*

[1] Locke tells us that *gruff* was the Mendip miners' name for a pit. See his *Life*, by Mr. Fox Bourne, I. 125.

(ligula), p. 908, our *lash*, *weve* (vapor), our *whiff*, p. 1310.

The Scandinavian words found here are, *bark* (cortex), *scour*, *spar*, *squeal*, *dump* (tundere), *cleft*, *fell* (mons), *grovelings*, p. 674, *aslant*, *harsk* (harsh), *skirt*, *scall*, *stem* (sistere), *slight*, *smile*, *trump* (tuba), *fon* (stultus), our *fond*. The Scandinavian *gœimaðr* gives birth to *yoman*, p. 184; it is here evidently used for 'an able-bodied man,' and we still talk of 'doing yeoman's service.' The word often appears as *yeman* in later times. There are a few words of this kind, still found here lingering in Scotland, as *stot* (buculus), *gley* (limis oculis spectare). A kirk is said to *scale* (disperse); this word, found in the Cursor, is the Danish verb *skille*. Our phrase, 'I have no time,' comes, not from the Old English word, but from the Scandinavian *tom* (otium), as seen in p. 130. The Old English *sceapend* (creator) now makes way for the Scandinavian *scaper* (shaper), p. 740. *Sculk* now means *abdere* and not *tabescere*, as in the Northern Psalter. *Bi* (oppidum) in p. 868 shows whence come our *bye-laws*.

The Celtic words *crag* and *bran* are found in p. 568 and p. 888. *Bul* stands for *mistake* in p. 1218; this noun does not appear again, I think, until Milton used it in his 'Apology for Smectymnuus.'

To Yorkshire belong the Percival and the Isumbras ('Thornton Romances,' Camden Society); they seem to have been compiled about 1290; they have much in common with the Cursor Mundi; such phrases as *give away*, *stot*, *pith* (vires), *ȝoman*, *overpasse*, *scrve* (tractare),

come once more. The Vowel-change is seen as usual in the North; *gât* (capra) is seen as *gayte*; and this sound is preserved in *Gateshead* (caput caprœ); there is also *mere* (equa); *u* often replaces *o*, as *gude* for *gode*, *luke* for *loke*; we see the thoroughly Northern *louse* (solvere) for the old *losian*, p. 72; in Scotland the change is in our time carried a step further, and the word is there pronounced like the German *laus*.

As to Consonants: we see how *knawlage* (this came in the Cursor) was pronounced, in p. 41; the *g* was sounded hard, for the word rimes with *make*, *take*, *blake*; the ending, in spite of its form, was more akin to the Teutonic *lac*, as in *wedlac*, than to the Romance *damage*. The former *swiftliker* (citius) loses its *k* and becomes *swiftliere*; I see that some of our best modern writers are now reviving these Comparative Adverbs, and are disusing the cumbrous *more swiftly*. The letter *n* is inserted, for *midlest* becomes *medilmaste*, p. 96.

Among Substantives, we find the old Plural *gode* (bona) turned into *gudez*, our *goods*; *folkes* are used for *men*, p. 45, and *bodys* have the same meaning, p. 44; hence comes our *somebody*, *nobody*, &c. This use of *body* appeared in Gloucestershire about the same time. In those days, knights won their *schone* (shoes), not their spurs, p. 61. In p. 77 we hear that a club's head was *twelve stone weghte*, the first instance of this measure. The phrase *a sevenyght long* (p. 84) was coming into use. Verbal Nouns are mainly due to the North; they are found in the Plural, as *sygheyngez* (suspiria), p. 90. The word *top* was already used, in composition with other nouns, as a sea term; the *toppe-castelles* of a ship

are mentioned in p. 97. *Score* is used as a plural noun in p. 44; *ellevene score of mene.*

As to Adjectives: we hear of *the thikkeste of the prese*, p. 44. In p. 51 comes *a sadde stroke*; the *sad* had taken the sense of *gravis*, besides that of *satur*; in the North they still talk of *sad cake.* In p. 92 stands the phrase 'alle als nakede als they were borne.'

The Adverb *right* was encroaching on the old *swipe*, as is plainly seen in the Percival; a new sense of the word is in p. 31, where a man is cast *reghte in the fyre.* The Northern sense of *still* is perhaps found in p. 18; it is hard to say whether *tranquille* or *toujours* would be the right translation here; *unmoved* is the connecting link between these two senses. *Even* had hitherto meant *æquè*; being confused with the Scandinavian *jafnt*, it here takes the further meaning of *rectè*, much as we now use *just*; the latter indeed actually appears in p. 11. In p. 45 is *evene over hym he rade*; in p. 46, *tille it was evene at daye lighte*; in p. 66, *he hitt hym evene on the nekk-bane*; we should now substitute *just* for even, though we still say *even so*, and the *e'en* is common in Scotland. The Superlative *innemeste* had always existed; we now find a new Comparative *innermare*, p. 48. Two Interrogatives are coupled in p. 81: *he asked wherefore and why he banned.* In p. 114 comes *ones appone a daye*; the *once* here stands for *olim*, as in Orrmin; not for *semel.*

Among the Pronouns, we remark the Yorkshire *scho* (illa); *thase* (illi), which we saw in the Northern Psalter, is repeated in p. 50; *yon*, standing by itself, is sometimes used for the *thase* or *those*; a usage found also

in the Cursor and still kept in the North. The old meaning of *hwylc* (qualis) was now dropped in Yorkshire, though not in the South; in p. 8 we see the word's place supplied by *what manere of thyng may this bee?* Cumbrous indeed is our version of St. Luke vii. 39, 'know who and what manner of woman;' this we took from Wickliffe; the translation, 400 years before him, was '*hwæt and hwylc*' &c. In p. 61 we see *ane* employed to save the repetition of a previous Noun; 'if I be not yet knight, make me *ane*;' this idiom was now coming in. We know our curious phrase 'a jewel of a man,' which seems to be French;[1] the earliest instance of this that I know is in p. 75; *the stalwarthest geant of one*, where *one* must stand for *man*.

There is much to remark in the Verbs: the disuse of the Indicative *is*, also found in the Northern Psalter, is carried further; *what may this bee*, p. 8. The Imperfect and Pluperfect tenses of the Subjunctive are oddly coupled together in p. 15; *he wened all other horsez were* (mares), *and hade bene callede soo. He hade a father to be slayne*, p. 23, is a continuation of one of Orrmin's idioms. The *get*, as in the Cursor, has come to mean *venire*; *he getis nere*, p. 85; more of the old meaning lingers in *he get owt* (extraxit) *hys swerde*, p. 79; in p. 29 is *he couthe not gett of* (exuere) the armour. The new sense of *do* is seen in p. 53; *with alle that folke hade he done* (finished). We see the Northern phrases, *fall to thaire fude*, p. 51; *hold on his way*, p. 84;

[1] Herodotus, in one of his earliest chapters, talks about 'a great thing of a boar.'

wyne (pervenire) *tille towne*, p. 95, a phrase that lingers in Scotland; *whate es your wille with me?* p. 107. The Old English *wegan* (weigh) was transitive, but its Scandinavian sister might be intransitive; so, in p. 77, we find *the clobe wheyhed reghte wele.*

We still use the Old English *for all this*, where *for* translates the French *malgré*; in p. 34 comes, *for oughte that may betide, I will &c.* The terseness of the future New English comes out in p. 8; *agayne hir sone ȝode*; that is, 'against the time that her son could walk;' the Prepositions *ere* and *for* had been treated in this way in the foregoing Century.

There is a curious combination, in p. 95, of the Midland *to* or *til* and the Northern *whil*, each of them meaning *jusqu'à ce que*; *be stille, to whils I feche, &c.*

Among the Interjections are *Peter! Lorde! A, dere God! How!* and the old-established *What!* A curious new idiom is in p. 14, '*that ever solde I dry sorowe!*' before this time, *eala* or some such word must have stood at the head of this sentence.

A new word is seen in *stremour* (vexillum); there is also *clowte* (ictus), akin to the Dutch *klotsen*; *crokede*, which Englishes *curvus*, is the Scandinavian *krókóttr*: *bait* had been used in connexion with the *bear* in the Havelok; it now means simply to feed, p. 8.

About 1295 many Lives of Saints were translated, almost certainly by Robert of Gloucester, whose rimes are in the same dialect. Anything connected with the language of this shire is of interest, when we remember that Tyndale was born there, not quite two hundred years later. The Lives of St. Thomas (Becket) and

'St. Brandan,' have been printed by the Percy Society; many others of the Lives we owe to Mr. Furnivall (Philological Society). I shall hereafter call attention to the French idioms, which abound.

In Becket's Life, the Vowel *a* replaces *e*; *berewe* (vectula) becomes *barewe* (barrow), p. 44. We follow the *at* of this piece, rather than the Eastern *et*, in our Perfect for *eat*. The old *ideled* is now shortened into *ideld*, our *dealt*. The *au*, so common in French words, is used for the broad *a* in Teutonic words; in p. 76, *haul* is written for *hale* (trahere), and we still keep both forms; though they no longer have one common sound, as in 1300. The name *Salesbury*, the first Vowel of which we pronounce like *haul*, is seen in p. 18; the proper name, as usual, keeping somewhat of the old sound of *a*. The *Willam* of earlier times now becomes *Williem*, p. 25, just as *willan* and *willian* (optare) might both be written. The author has a practice of inserting *i* before another vowel, and also of turning *eu* into *ue;* he has induced us to write *Tuesday*, p. 57, instead of the rightful *Teusday* or *Tiwesday*; he has *nue* (novus), *thue* (servus), and many such. The *u* or *w* is thrown out altogether in *ho* (quis), not far from our *hoo*, as we now pronounce the word. In p. 75, the English *uneap* gets confused with the French *aisé*, and *unese* (difficilis) is the upshot. We see how our pronunciation of the fourth day in the week arose, when we find *Wendesdai* in p. 57. Our way of handling the Genitive of a Noun that ends in *s* is foreshadowed in p. 19; (he did) *Thomas heste* (Thomæ jussum): there is also *Thomas men*, p. 43. The *r* and the *n* are both inserted in one word, for the

old *Sempigaham* becomes *Sympringham*, p. 55. The *r* and *l* interchange, when *Sarum* or *Sarisbury* becomes *Salesbury*; Bishop Jewel long afterwards used the *r*, in writing the name of his diocese. The Teutonic *blench* is now confounded with the French *flechier*; we see in this piece *blench*, *blinch*, and *flecchi*; we may now use either *blench* or *flinch*.

As to Substantives: we see now and then a change in the form of words. In the Tristrem, *bond* had meant *servus*; in this new piece, p. 27, the word becomes *bonde man* with the same meaning. In other shires, as in the country near Rutland, *bondeman* still bore the old sense of *colonus* and nothing more. In p. 34, the word *end* (finis) gets a new meaning, that of *purpose*. In p. 49, is the adjuration *merci, for Godes love!* that is, 'for love towards God,' as we see by a like passage in p. 2. Here also is found, *heo seȝ hire tyme*, 'she saw her time,' that is, *opportunity*.

The Adjective *seli* continues to unite to its old sense (beatus) just the contrary sense *infelix*, or our *poor*, as in the Havelok. Henry II. when attacked by his sons, is called a *seli olde man*. In p. 94 the word may bear either meaning. We see for the first time in þ. 3 the Superlative Adjective employed like a Substantive; *hi dude here best* (they did their best).

Among Pronouns, the old *he hwa* (quisquis) of 1220, is changed into *he that*; *he that susteneth lawes, haveth the sinne*, p. 84. The *as* (as in St. Juliana) is used as a Relative; in p. 5 comes *thulke hous as he was inne ibore*; again in p. 39, *ynouȝ as to thulke daye* (quod spectat ad). When we see the phrase (p. 43), *som* (unus) *is that*

wole telle, we perceive how the old *al and sum* answers to our *one and all*. We find a new phrase for the Latin *non is qui*; *he nas noȝt the man that wolde &c.* p. 111. In p. 95 comes *six ȝer and a month*; *án* had split into two forms; and of these we should have expected *one*, not *a*, here. The Old English form of expressing time, *nu wæs tvâ gear*, is changed (an imitation of the French) into *this was tene ȝer after that &c.* p. 95. We can understand how our 'a fortnight' sprang up, much earlier, when in p. 123 we find *an eiȝte dayes*. In p. 98 comes *the tueye of hem*, (the pair of them); here the Numeral seems to stand for a Noun.

Among the Verbs are found phrases like *breke prisoun*, *cry him milce* (mercy), *set hond on* (attack), *set sames* (the appointed Psalms, p. 54). *his hurte him ȝaf that*, p. 60; we can now only say, 'his heart misgave him that.' There are also *hit falth to the* (te decet); *take on* (procedere, p. 69), *nom an honde* (suscepit, p. 4) *heo com of gentyl blod, hold thi mouth, the sonne* (sun) *is overcast*. In p. 98 comes a phrase common enough among us now, but which is an evident translation of the French *vous savez*; *Archebischop ich am, ȝe wite, as wel as he*; our *you know* is in our time a never-ending expletive. In p. 113 we hear that the monks *woke* a corpse; this is a rare instance of a Weak Verb taking a Strong Perfect; it is put here for the sake of the rime.

As to Adverbs: we see *forasmoche as*, an Englishing of *pour autant que*; *þu miȝt as wel beo stille*, p. 49; *hou hit ever bifalle*, p. 79, hence our shortened *however*. A new Adverb is formed from *brad* (this survives in *Bradford*), *abrod* (latè); *abrod* (foris) came from the Scan-

dinavian; 'to noise abroad,' and 'to travel abroad,' mean very different things. It is seldom that we compound *a* with an Adjective in this fashion; with Substantives it is different. The first hint of our 'follow up' is in p. 18: the friends of a murdered man *suede up him* (the murderer); this *up* began now to be often tacked on to Verbs; it is a Scandinavian usage.

As to Prepositions: the *to* is employed as in the French *déferer à*; *stonde to al that holi churche wolde*, p. 28. Another French idiom is, *aryved at Sandwych*, p. 95; nothing can show more forcibly how plainly the French *à* (ad) and the English *at* are but two forms of one old word. In p. 63 is, *the Kinges men were at him*; a new phrase marking hostility.

A word, common to us and the Dutch, is found in p. 5; Becket's mother, wandering about London and unable to speak English, is called 'a *mopisch* best.'

In the Life of St. Brandan, we see *herfest* (messis) become *harvest*, which stands for what we now call *Autumn*. In p. 22, we hear of *bulies blowing*; can our *bully* come from this? It is the Western form of *bælg*, *bellows*. *An* is pared down to *a*, for *a Godes name* often comes. We see *fur ire* (fire iron), p. 30; fishes, p. 21, are said to float *at one hepe* (in a mass); hence our 'struck all of a heap.' In p. 30 we hear of an otter's *hynder fet* and his *forthere fet*, (fore-feet,) expressions altogether new. In p. 24, a mountain is said to burn *stronge*.

In Mr. Furnivall's Lives of the Saints, we may

remark the disappearance of the *e* in *þe* before a Vowel, as *þeir* (the air); Caxton was fond of this usage. The words *wraþþe* (ira) and *wroþ* (iratus) are distinguished in p. 98. The old *Sumersete* is now written *Somersete*, p. 49, where many other counties are mentioned. The *Wiltoneschire*, *Slobschire*, and *Dunholme* of 1260 now become *Wilteschire*, *Schropschyre*, and *Durham*. The *Kaiser* of the Ancren Riwle is written *Cezar*, p. 113; the former term was confined to the office, the latter to the family name; the *c* must have been in the second instance taken from the French original of this poem. The *n* is inserted, when *lȳtinge* (fulgur) is seen as *liȝtninge*, in p. 117. The *b* is cast out, for *clemde* is written for *climbed*, in p. 51. The *n* at the end is clipped, for we find *gredire* (gridiron), p. 65; the old *gescoten* is pared down to *schet*, our Participle *shot*, p. 118. *Scrin* now becomes *schrin*, p. 47.

Among the Substantives, we see one English word encroaching upon its synonym in p. 80:

'In anoþer *half* of þe churche, al in þoþer *side*.'

The former of these Nouns was soon to drop in this sense. The old Plural of *cu* (vacca), *cȳ*, is still used in the North; but we find a new Plural of the true Southern pattern in p. 53, *kyn*; a third Plural, *cows*, was yet to come; all three Plurals are still used in our island; this instance, I think, is something quite by itself. It may be, that men thought they might talk of *kine*, since they already used the Plural *swine*. There is another most pronounced Southern form, *eirmonger* (egg-monger), in p. 45; Caxton's tale about *eir* and

eggs, nearly two hundred years later, is well known. There is the noun *mase* (error), p. 107; and the expressions *swete hurte* (sweetheart), p. 51; *find his macche*, p. 59; *menie a moder child* (mother's son), p. 104. In p. 83 comes *gode wyf*, addressed to a woman; nothing now more enrages a female in the witness-box than to be addressed by the opposing counsel as 'my good woman.' In p. 95 St. Katherine addresses a most bloodthirsty tyrant as *gode man*, something like our 'my good fellow.' In p. 71 we hear of *gode men and true*; here *true* bears the meaning of *honestus* as in the Peterborough Chronicle; a *true man* is opposed to a *thief*. In p. 63, we first light on our *gastliche* (ghastly); this word, unlike *ghostly*, has never changed its first vowel, and comes from *agasten* (terrere). In p. 94 is *God almiȝtie-es spouse*; so confused had our inflexions now become, that the Adjective, and not the Substantive, here takes a Genitive form.

There are such new phrases as *the liȝt was oute*; *he makede moche of gode reule*, p. 35 [1]; *moche aȝen his wille*; *his fader were betere habbe*, &c., p. 109; like Shakespere's 'you were best go,' where the Pronoun is in the Dative. In p. 53 comes *þe valey perdoune*; we should now say 'down there.'

As to Pronouns: the sharp distinction between *þu* and *ȝe*, made in Lincolnshire about this time, had not yet found its way to the Severn; in p. 59 and in p. 91 a superior uses both *þu* and *ȝoure* in one line, when addressing an inferior. The Virgin tells the Devil,

[1] This phrase comes in Tyndale's version of St. Luke, vii. 2.

'thou beast, your power is too great,' p. 59. In p. 114 *sum on* replaces the old *sum man*. In p. 80 we hear that no rain fell, to disturb *a manes mod*; here *man*, with the Indefinite Article prefixed, stands for *aliquis*; this is something new. In p. 50 comes, *no þe wors him nas*; we should now say, 'he was not the worse,' altering the case.

As to Verbs: we see *find out, hou goþ þis? makede hire mid childe, hou schal ic do* (valere), p. 97; hence our 'how do you do?' In p. 105 the phrase *it be* is used as a kind of expansion of *etsi*; *summe þeȝ hit beo fewe*. The Verb *swear*, when used of a future event, governs an Accusative, *his deþ he hadde iswore*, p. 116; we also find in p. 51, *bispeke his deþ*, a new sense of this Verb. We know Porson's clever but unfair lines, beginning,

> The Germans in Greek
> Are sadly to seek.

In p. 78 we hear of the Devil, *noþing to siche* (seek) *he nas* (non defuit). Our phrase 'cast up accounts' is foreshadowed in p. 77, *caste his numbre*. In the same line *draw* gets a new meaning, '*draw* figures;' this is a Scandinavian sense of *draw*. When St. Dunstan was enraptured in p. 39, *he sat as he were ynome*; this is the first hint of our modern *numb*, coming from the old *niman* (capere).

Among Prepositions, we find, *take ensample bi, take God to witness, for nought, no love bituene hem, hi were upe* (upon) *him*.

In p. 83 the old *d*, slightly changed, begins to be

used as an Affirmative; a question is asked, and the answer is *aȝe, sire* (aye). Our *ugh* of disgust is seen as *ou* in p. 115.

We find *wrick*, our *wriggle*, in p. 36; it is akin to a Dutch word. Shakespere talks of *pashed corpses*; this comes from the Scandinavian *pask*, found in p. 98.

In Seyn Julian, (published by the Early English Text Society), we see *marw* (medulla), *strupe her naked, make þe signe of þe crois*, and *tresses*.

The Life of St. Margaret was published by the Early English Text Society; the version of the year 1295 may be found in p. 24, a wonderful contrast to the version put forth ninety years earlier. We find in p. 25 *schip* (oves); in p. 27 is *chus* (elige), and in p. 28 *ruþe* (misericordia), just as we now pronounce these three words. In p. 29 is *atom* (domi), just as we now slur over the *h* of the second word; the Scandinavians said *at húsi*. In p. 32 comes *astoned*, long afterwards inserted by Tyndale in the Bible; it is a compound of the English *astundian* and the French *estonner*. In p. 30 the French *cacche* becomes *catche*, with the *t* in the middle. The proper name *Laurenz*, in p. 24, follows the French and not the Latin form; the name *Stevene* does just the reverse. We see the phrase, *the blod ran bi stremes*; this is a new meaning attached to *bi*. The use of the *of* in phrases like *of age* is further extended; in p. 29 comes *a man of mi strengþe*. *Do*, attached to another Verb, was becoming very common; as *þu dost lede* (ducis).

From the same Manuscript comes a Treatise on Science, published by Mr. Wright, p. 132. *Hâr* (canus)

becomes *hor* (hoar); *f* replaces *h* in *þurf* (per), as it did before in *þoh*, *þof*. We see, in p. 138, a seeming preference of French to English endings; *swearer* and *waker* become *sweriere* and *wakiere*. Robert of Gloucester, the probable author of this treatise, has *bowiar* (bowyer) in his Chronicle; this Gloucestershire crotchet comes out again in Tyndale, who sometimes writes *lawear* (lawyer); Chaucer has *man of law*. The Western Poet speaks of his forehead as his *for-top*, p. 137; our seamen use the word in another sense. In p. 139, the phrase comes *wiþinne fourti dayes and in lasse*; here the Substantive is not repeated after *lasse*, an instance of English conciseness. In p. 140 the soul *goþ to gode*, that is, 'to heaven;' here the Adjective stands for a Substantive. On the other hand, souls may *beo in liþere weye* (be in a bad way), p. 140; this is an early instance of a phrase common now. We know Pope's line ending with *all that*, meaning 'all such things;' this is foreshadowed in p. 133; many vices are named, and we are told that a good man may cleanse himself *of alle þulke*. Tyndale has often put in our Bible the corrupt *shined* (micavit) as well as the rightful *shone*; *schynde* is seen in p. 133. The Verb *begin* is followed by an Accusative in p. 132; *ich wole bigynne þe names*. We find *buttok*, akin to the Dutch *bout*, and *slab* of ire (massa), which has puzzled the wise.

We now turn to Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, published by Hearne. We may safely call it a translation from the French, when we see such forms as *the March* (Mercia), *Picards* (Picts), *Daneis* (Danes), *þe Londreis* (Londoners), *Pountfreit* (Pontefract, Pomfret),

p. 505; *Hubert de Burgh* is altered into *Hubert de Boru*, p. 523. The French *par* (where *ab* would have been used in Latin for the agent) is Englished by *þoru* in p. 271. The original author had to explain in two long lines the meaning of the old word *Apelyng*, as applied to Edgar, p. 354. *Homage* is quite wrongly turned into *manhede*, not *manrede*, p. 421. The poor translation, *syȝte* for *vision*, is seen in p. 355. It is in this poem that we first find the habit of opposing the word *Saxons* to Normans, p. 363, though after all *English*, not *Saxons*, is the usual phrase employed. The *Saxons* and the *Englysse* both alike wage war on the Britons in p. 225. As to *Englisch* (lingua Anglica), we are told in p. 125, that *þe Saxones speche it was, and þorw hem ycome yt ys*; just what King Alfred says, if we would only believe him.

The letter *a* replaces *e* in the proper name *Ȝarnemouþe*, Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, p. 164, though the old spelling is kept in p. 227; *a* replaces *æ*, for *æmete* (emmet) becomes *amet*, our *ant* (formica); there are also *gras* and *brak*, as in Layamon. *Au* is found in *aul*, which is no longer written *awel* or *âl*; we find both *Mold* and *Maud*, the short of *Matilda*. The *e* replaces *y*, as in *Welsse* (Welsh) for *Wylisc*; *gle* stands for *gleow* (gaudium). The *i* or *y* comes in often; at p. 370 we see the proper name *Oecyly*, which we now call either *Cicely* or *Cecil*. The *y* or *i* slips in before Vowels in Teutonic words, as we saw in the Legends of the Saints; in p. 416 comes the Verbal Noun *bodyynge*, our *boding*; in p. 541 is *bowiar*, our *bowyer*; we need not derive this ending from the French; it is one of the Severn country

forms. The *o* often supplants *u*, as in Layamon's Second Text; it stands for *e* in *worrede* (pugnavit); there is also *con* for *ken* (scit), p. 364; hence 'to con a lesson;' *o* stands for *eo*, as *ssoppe* (shop) for *sceoppa*, p. 541; it stands for *au*, as *Morisse* for *Maurice*, p. 516. The *u* supplants *i*, as in *Wurcester*; we still keep the old sound of the *u* in this proper name; *Paul* is written *Poul*. We see the curious compromise between the Southern *u* and Northern *y* or *i* that makes us write *guild*, *build*, and such words; in this Poem we have *fuyr* (ignis), *pruyd* (superbia), and *Bruyt* (Brute). This usage was continued by the author of Piers Ploughman, another Western writer. *Hugo* is now written *Hue*, the *ue* standing for *eu*; a proof how fondly England clung to her old sound *eow*, the French *ion*. In p. 116 Layamon's *þwong* is pared down to *þong*."

As to Consonants: the *f* or *v* is cast out of *æfen* (vesper), which is seen as *ene* in p. 394, *Holy Thore's ene*. We see the old *targynge* in p. 207, and the new *tarie* (morari) in p. 109; Tyndale was fond of this word. The *g* is moreover thrown out in *neyde* (neighed) from the old *hnægan*, and in *nintene*, where the first syllable has replaced *nigon*. The *h* is cut away from the old *toh*, which is now written *tou* (tough), p. 175; the South no longer pronounced the guttural at the end of words. The old *maca* (socius) becomes *mate*, p. 536, just as we find both *condicio* and *conditio* in Old Latin; the relationship of *tumulus* and *cumulus* is well known. The *þ* is dropped in the middle of *Norþwic*, which now becomes *Norwiche*; *forþweard* is seen as *forward*, p. 17, and it may, in our days, be often heard

pronounced *forrad*. The name we now call *Ethelbert* is seen as *Eylbryt*, p. 238. The interchange between *l* and *d* is seen in p. 447, where the *Cardoil* of p. 4 is written *Carloyl*. The *l* is sometimes cast out, for *þilk* (iste) and *Walter* become *þike*, p. 27, and *Water*, p. 553. The final *n* has been clipped in true Southern fashion in *aȝe* (iterum), p. 548; on the other hand, *þréateþ* (minatur) is first seen as *þretneþ*, p. 457. In Proper Names, we had begun to follow French rather than Latin; *Sergius* is pared down to *Sergy*, p. 255. We also see *Jude*, *Nel* (Niel), *Gemes* (James, p. 534), *George*, *Barnabe*, *Umfray*. King Richard's enemy was Duke of *Ostrich*, not *Austria*. There are forms of English places as yet new to English poetry, as *Roucestre*, *Exetre*, *Bristowe*, *Hamptschire*, *Glastynbury*. *Nothyngam* has lost the *s*, which used to stand before her first *n*; this alteration may be seen in Latin Charters of the foregoing Century. *Grauntebrigge* becomes *Cambrugge*, p. 6, though the old form lasted a hundred years longer. In p. 44 the Poet explains why *Lude's town* is now slightly changed; *me clepeþ it London, þat ys lyȝter in þe mouþ*. These last six words give a clue to the reason of the alterations in many an English word. Armorica is called *þe lasse Breteyne*, p. 95, and is held by *Britones*. The old *Burh* becomes *Petresboru*, p. 283. We hear of *Dyvyses* (Devizes), p. 448; in p. 523 this becomes *The Vise*. The old *Eadgyþ*, which had already been much mangled in Domesday Book, is written *Edyþe*, p. 331. A man named *Hobekin* was hanged not long before the battle of Lewes, p. 544; *Halbert* must have been very early pared down to *Hob*. All Saints' Church in Oxford is called *Alle Halwen*, p. 541; this old Genitive Plural,

a Southern corruption of *halgana* (sanctorum), lives in *Halloween*, as already remarked.

In Nouns, we find the Old English construction of time dropped, which prescribed *Augustus monðe*; it is now *þe monthe of Jun*, p. 410; something akin to this is *þe art of lechecraft*, p. 150. In the first page of the poem we see that the word *England*, which used to be Neuter, has become Masculine; we now make it Feminine. The noun *hastinesse* is formed from the verb, p. 109. The well-known legend about Rowena is set out in p. 118; and we here find the Substantive *wassayl*, formed from *wæs hal* (esto salvus); we have already seen *to wassail* in the Havelok. Robert tells us that this cry became so popular, that it was not forgotten in his day; men thought more of drink than of *an holi prechoures word*. *Sceoppa* had meant *treasury*; it now becomes *ssoppe*, *shop* in the sense so well known to us, p. 541. A new word, *reverye* (rapina), is formed in p. 193, simply to suit the rime; it was not to be long-lived. We hear of *þe hondred*, p. 267, as a part of the shire; also, of a *wolpack*. In p. 407, the Christian host comes on *myd gode ernest*. *Arm* is used for an *inlet* of the sea, p. 2; in p. 16 *game* is used, not for *ludus*, but as a synonym of the beasts killed for sport. *Rout* is used for *turba* in p. 17. *Dole*, p. 165, no longer means *pars*, but a distribution of alms; to *dole* out money and to *deal* cards are two prongs coming from one old Verb; here the Southern Dialect has given us a new form. *Rilt* now gets the sense of *claim*; *nadde non ryȝt þerto* is in p. 359. We used to hear much of O'Connell's *tail*; the word, applied in this sense to King Knout and his men, is

seen in p. 305. In p. 266, King Alfred learns the alphabet; he *coupe ys abece*, a phrase used by Tyndale later. There are such phrases as *hente* (take) *herte*; *oute of hom and hous*, p. 375; these nouns we now transpose; *fot folc* (infantry); smoke is puffed against the heathen *ryzt in her owe* (their own) *teþ*, p. 407. In p. 541 comes a phrase dear to Tyndale, *men were atte mete* (at meat). In p. 555, Sir Edward grants a garrison *lif and lime*: A *mortel* wound is translated *depes wonde* in p. 49; Lord Macaulay, in his Lays, called it a *death wound*.

Among Adjectives, we find *lere* (vacuus), p. 81; it is curious that this old word should have died out of England, except in the South West, after 1310; it may still be heard in the mouths of Somersetshire peasants. In p. 119 a *sely wenche* is opposed to a *holi prechour*; *sely* here may perhaps bear the new meaning *stultus*. In p. 95 comes *an sixti þousand gode*; we should now make *good* the second word. In p. 393, a Prince borrows a huge sum of money, *and þat was somdel starc*, like our 'coming it *strong*.' In p. 430 a girl is described as *a ten zer old*, a wholly new phrase. *Bold þe more* comes in p. 566, because *þe bolder* would not suit the rime.

As to Pronouns: *yt* refers to a Masculine Antecedent in p. 411; a Prince thinks it too much trouble to be King, and *sayde þat he nolde be yt nozt*. In p. 420 comes, 'he was *þulke þat*;' this Southern *þulke* (that one) is convenient here, as preventing *þat* coming twice over. In p. 409, the Crusaders *helde her Ester* (kept their Easter), a new sense of the Pronoun. In p. 435 *some tyme* is used where we should say 'once upon a time;' the *sum* and *an* were synonyms of old. In p. 561 comes

mani an oper, a new form. In p. 532 we read of *muche folc*; the phrase *much people* is kept in our Bible. In p. 509, we see *nozt for nozt*; here the first stands for our *not*, the last for our *nought*; the old word had elsewhere been split into two different forms, as two shades of meaning had now to be represented. In p. 449 comes 'they knew not *wat to do*;' the French *que faire* is preferred to the Old English idiom of the Subjunctive mood. A new French fashion of dating time comes in; we see in p. 363 the phrase: *in þe ȝere of Grace a þousend and syxe and syxty*; here the Cardinal number stands for the Ordinal; the Old English way of reckoning by *winters* was being dropped. In p. 295 comes the Dorsetshire *hii were at on*; the very Southern phrase, 'to set at one,' is in our Bible.

Among the Verbs, we may remark many new French idioms. We find *bicomen frendes gode*, *God yt schyld me*, p. 58, (Dieu me defende); *ȝeve hym batail*; *smyte a batayle*; *do bataile*; *to segge ssortlyche* (shortly to say); *sette on fuyre*; *he pleyede king*; *bere armes*; *myn herte ys on hym*. Some Verbs undergo alteration; thus in p. 29 a man falls from a great height and *pitches*; this last verb had up to this time been transitive; much in the same way, men are said to *spread* about, in p. 288; *withdraw* is intransitive in p. 388. *Set* also loses its active sense in p. 400, where two hosts *sette togadere* in fight. On the other hand, *to swear a man*, is in p. 348; *to turn your hand to*, is in p. 101. We see, *it was vorþ ipult* (proclaimed); *it com to pes* (peace); they *adde the stretes iler* (they had, i.e. *made*, the streets empty), p. 541. We now talk of *mooring* a ship, but in p. 499 the verb

is used of woods, which are *mored up* (rooted up). A town is *barned al adoun* in p. 294; *up* and *down* are both used in our day to express intensity, as, 'to knock up,' and 'to kill down.' In p. 354, Harold *made hys wey* (attained his end). We see a curious proof of the confusion between the Verbal Noun and the Infinitive in *en*, for in p. 291 we hear of a token *pat to comyng was*; it should be *to comen* (venturum). There is a strange idiom in p. 343; *he was wel ȝong to be kyng*; it is a great advance on Orrmin's 'good enough to do a thing.' In p. 419 we hear of Rufus' end; then comes the moral, *such yt ys to be ssrewe* (a shrew); here *a thing* seems to be omitted after the *such*. Our easy idiom 'he swore he should hang' comes in p. 448; no *that* follows the first verb here. The Verb is altogether dropped, to save a repetition; in p. 523 four nobles 'found knights, *ech of hom on*' (each of them one). This idiom is rather hazy, and is not easy to construe at first sight. One of our Biblical phrases is seen in p. 515, *so it was that &c.*, 'it was so, that.'

Among Adverbs, the use of *as* is much developed. The old *swa swa* had been used of yore, when a notion was to be expressed, illustrated by examples; this *swa swa* now becomes *as*. Thus we hear, in p. 359, that the Conqueror built abbeys, *as Teokesbury and Oseneye*. *As* is further used to English the French *comme*; in p. 37 Cordelia takes the kingdom *as þe ryȝt eyr*. In p. 216 a hero carries off a man's body, *ded as yt was*. We know the phrase, 'as at this time,' in our Collect for Christmas-day; something like this is seen in p. 552, 'they made peace on the twelfth of May, *as in a*

Tywesday. In p. 56 comes 'on a hill, *as* (ubi) many rocks were'; another manuscript has *ther* for the above *as*; it is easy to see how *thereas* and *whereas* arose. *Yet* had hitherto been used of *time*; it is now employed to restrict an idea: in p. 35 we see 'he is come with but one man, *and ȝet þilke in feble wede.*' We find *oversore* (nimis), which replaces the old *overswiþe*; also *asyde*. *Wel ynou* (p. 284), means *valdè felix*. One of our intensive forms is *out*; this we see in p. 121, 'they forsook the king *al out*' (utterly); we find in this poem *seek out* and *buy out*. We see *more Soup* used as an Adverb in p. 386. King Alfred's *clœne* (omnino) becomes *clanliche* at p. 100. We see *up and doun*, p. 552, but there is another form in p. 333, where a man *þreu up to doun* (fell upside down). This is the first hint of a new English phrase, due to the West Country, which is further developed in 1320 as *upsodoun*; the scribe most likely did not understand the phrase: it also occurs in Scyn Julian. The *þreu* here, like the Verb *pitch*, becomes intransitive.

The word *but* now answers to the Latin *quin*; *hou myȝte we bote be overcome?* p. 306; here the French *que* must have had an influence. *When* answers to *quoniam* in p. 47; *wen we beþ of on blod.*

As to Prepositions: *of* stands for *considering*; 'strong *of* her age' is in p. 110. A law phrase is seen in p. 510, *to hold vor him and vor his eirs.*

The Interjection *Ow, Lord, þe noble folk!* comes in p. 56; the common O here got the sound of the French *ou*; the meaning is, 'O Lord, what noble folk,' &c. This *Lord* is still a favourite Interjection with us; it seems a translation of the French *Dam* (dominus).

Among strange words, *bad* appears, as in the North. Orderic Vital had long before written about *sterilensis moneta*; we now find *a certein sume of sterlings*, p. 563: the word is said to come from Germany.

The Southern Version of the Castel of Love (Philological Society) dates from about this time; it resembles Robert of Gloucester in forms like *pruide* and *kuinde*; we here find *welfare*, p. 9, *outriht*, p. 13.

Other poems of this date are in the other Volume of the Society, after the Play of the Sacrament. In p. 16 we see *destrei* (destroy); the *oy* in English, as in French, had the sound, sometimes of the French *é*, sometimes of the French *ou* or *oue*. The Verb *bob*, in p. 14, has the sense of *ferire*.

The long poem of the Alexander (Weber's 'Metrical Romances,' Vol. I.) seems to have been translated from the French about the year 1300. We may safely refer its translator to some shire near the Great Sundering Line. The dialect is mostly Southern; but certain phrases, such as *sket* (cito), *that* (iste), *they dispises*, p. 70, *til* (ad), *han* (habent), *bigge* (not *bugge*), unmistakeably smack of the North. The translator seems to have lived not far from Gloucestershire, for he repeats the new form *kuyn* (vaccæ); on the whole, Warwickshire seems the most likely place of his abode. We seem to have a foreshadowing of Shakespere in words like *horeson*, p. 41, and in p. 52 comes

> Swithe mury hit is in halle,
> When the burdes (beards) wawen alle.

As to Vowels: *a* replaces *eo*, as *darling*; also *e*, for

snacche (rapere) replaces the *snecche* of the Ancren Riwle; also *i*, as *in mangle*, p. 303 (in the medley), hence our *mingle-mangle*. *E* replaces *y*, as 'he had *yment*' (in animo habuerat); here the old verb *myntan* gets confused with *mænan* (significare). The *cole* (occidere) of the North makes way for *kill*, p. 159. The Old English *þrea* (dolor) becomes *throwe* in p. 78; in the North it is *thraw*, following the Scandinavian *þrâ*. The *oi* has the sound of the French *ou*; for *bu* (puer) stands in p. 45 for what was called in the Havelok *boy*.

As to Consonants: we find 'the *upper* Ynde' in p. 235; this of old would have been *ufor*; the old forms, *upplica* or *up-flor*, may have had some influence on the new term. Overton still survives as the name of many a village. There is something like this in p. 272, where the Adverb *doun* is supplied with a Comparative *douner*; there are such new forms as *rough*, *laugh*, *trough*. The *gh* seems not to have been sounded in the middle of a word; we find *tighed*, (ligatus,) *wonyghing*, (habitatio). The expletive *he gan* with the Infinitive now becomes *can*; *he can chaunge* (mutavit), p. 50. *C* turns into *t*, for the old *strœc* (directus) is seen as *streyte*, whence comes our *straightway*; this form must not be confounded with the *strait* gate, coming from the French. The *n* is clipped at the beginning of *nædre* (anguis), and *adder* appears. As in the Tristrem, the Infinite in *en* changes into *ing*, a confusion with the Verbal Noun; in p. 28 comes *withoute doyng*; in p. 234 comes *withouten lesyng*. This is an advance on the *buten ewt to leosen* in the Legend of St. Katherine, at p. 259 of my work; the French *sans*, governing the Infinitive, was evidently the

model in all these cases. The *r* is inserted in *schill*, which is now seen as *shrill*; some say *follering* instead of *following*. When we see a form like *scrike* (vagire), it is easy to imagine that the very common change of the *r* into a *w* would long afterwards produce *squeak*. The *s* replaces the *r* when *loren* becomes *lost*; the old *loron* (amiserunt) remains in p. 152. The *s* is added to words; *amidde* becomes *amiddes*, our *amidst*.

We find such new Substantives as *brother-in-law*, *a bowe-schote*, *cité-men*, p. 71. *Drawbridge* is formed, just as *spilbred* had been. What had hitherto been *Jupiter* in England is now called *Jouv*, p. 18. The old *felawe* is used in the two widely different senses that still prevail: the abusive one is in p. 172, 'Fy, felaw, theof;' the friendly one is in p. 115, 'He was ryght good *felawe*.' A noble top becomes in p. 74 *a top of nobleys*; a strange construction. The old *pawa* (pavo) is seen as *pecock*; and *calketrappe* (calthrop) appears. *Doppe*, the bird named by us from its *dipping* or *ducking*, is mentioned in p. 239; though the form *ende* (in Latin, *anat-is*) lasted a hundred and forty years longer. The Verbal Nouns come in fast; *in his doyng* is in p. 311. As in the Cursor Mundi, they govern the Accusative, bearing witness to English conciseness. This case may now be Plural as well as Singular; in p. 57 we hear that *thar was steden lesyng*, losing of steeds. In p. 325 we are told of *stryf for the body beoriing*, 'burying of the body.' The Accusative Absolute is often found in this poem, as *she rod, theo heved al nakid*, p. 13.

We see *fine* stand before another Adjective, just as we use it; in p. 204, *fyne hardy men*. In p. 263 we

hear of *a cité, on of the noblest in Cristianité*; this is a new construction of the Superlative.

Among the Pronouns, we see the Nominative put for the Accusative in *Y pray ye, maister*, in p. 22; the French *vous* was here translated.

As to Numerals: *hundred* takes a Plural for the first time; *the tayl they kit of hundrodis fyve*, p. 135.

Among the Verbs, the use of *have* is much developed. In p. 55 comes *they hadden leovere steorve*, they had rather die; here *have* reminds us of the Latin *mihi est*, and the *leovere* is a Neuter Adjective. The use of the Past Infinitive, an idiom so contrary to Old English, is now further extended; it follows Adjectives, as *worthy to be hongid*, p. 75. In p. 47 a lady *grauntid to beo spoused*, a very French idiom; in Old English *þat* with a Past tense would have been used after the *grauntid*. The verb *do* is freely used; in p. 11 comes *do* (put) *to theo sweord*; in p. 84 is *do you honour*. The corruption of the Second Person Singular of the Strong Perfect goes on; in p. 164 we find *thow smotest*, instead of the old *smote*; so peculiar a phrase proves the translator to have lived not far to the South of the Great Sundering Line. In p. 154 *cleave* (findere) makes its rightful Strong Perfect *clef*; in p. 151 its Participle is corrupted into the Weak *clevyd*; we have happily kept the old *cloven* alive. There are the new Verbs *bestir, bewray, overthrow*.

As to Adverbs: we have seen Orrmin's *forr þē naness* (for the purpose); this sense now slides into *for the occasion*; in p. 20 a lady sees something, and is *agrisen* (frightened) *for the nones*. The old *hwil*, as at Colchester a hundred years earlier, takes the usual

modern *es* at the end and becomes *whiles*, (whilst). In p. 249 appears *here-to-fore*; we also find *als fer as, aloud*, and *aside*. *Along* is now used as an Adverb, p. 141. The old *cwicliche* is pared down, as in the Tristrem; *the gates weoren quyk unschut*, p. 116.

There are new uses of Prepositions. 'To bid (ask) *of* a man;' 'the place shon *of* brightness;' hence our 'smack of,' 'savour of.' In p. 270 comes the *to* of comparison; *ther n'yȝ to hym no best so feloun*; hence our 'he was a fool *to* this fellow.' We follow the French in the idiom, p. 182; *this was to Grece a sory fall. To* had from the earliest times the meaning of *secundum*; we now find in p. 307, *folk that beon to your honour*. In p. 41 is *fy on the*, and in p. 79, *to turne on Darie*. In p. 59 is *seon him in face*, which is very French; as is, *tel me, bytweone the and me*, p. 68. We find *word for word, to-fore alle*. The old idiom would have been 'before his horse's feet and under:' this is now changed to our freer usage, *tofore and under his horses fete*, p. 136. The old interchange between *of* and *on* comes out, when we see *afhungred* changed into *anhungred*; a phrase inserted by Tyndale in our Bible.

The Interjection *so ho! so ho!* may be found in p. 154.

There are many works, akin to the German, now first cropping up in our island: such are *girl, mane, pin, scoff, shingle, top* (turbo), and the Verbs *cower, curl, dab, plump, scrub, stamp, rotle* (rustle); there is also *hedlinge* (præceps). The word *dally* appears for the first time.

The new Scandinavian words are *fling, ragged, tumble, sturdy, shaw*.

The Celtic words (we are not very far from the Welsh border) are, *bicker*, *boistous* (boisterous), *wail*, *hog*, *gun*; this last was most likely some engine for darting Greek fire.

I may here point out that it is seldom that we can express one idea by four words, representing the four races that have ruled our island since Roman times. But for *plangere* we may use, (though there are shades of difference) either the Welsh *wail*, the English *moan*, the Danish *shriek*, or the French *cry*; this is indeed a wealth of expression. We can often find three representative words of this kind, but seldom four; either the Welsh or the Danish synonym is commonly wanting.[1] The source of derivation is sometimes puzzling. Thus, our word *cost* may come either from the Welsh *costiaw*, from the Icelandic *kosta*, or from the French *couster*; there is, moreover, a Low German *kosten*; it is the same with *pot*.

We have now traced the three periods of Middle English for 180 years: we have seen its Cultivation, from 1120 to 1220; its Neglect, from 1220 to 1280; and its Reparation, by translators of French works, from 1280 to 1300. We have seen the old Inflections pared away at Peterborough in 1160; the disuse of Old English compounds, to be remarked in East Anglia, about 1200; the rush of French words into English, about 1280, has yet to be explained. A greater contrast cannot be imagined, than if we compare the Legend of St. Juliana (1220), with the Havelok (1280).

[1] *Bard*, *Maker*, *Scald*, *Poet*, are something similar; but the first comes to us from the Welsh through the Latin, and not directly.

Let a line be drawn from Whitby through York, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, to Weymouth. To the South and East of this line sprang up the many idioms that we have just considered; all of which were in process of time to converge at London. The rough churls of many a shire were shaping the language, that in the fulness of time was to be handled by Shakespere and Milton; while the better-educated priests were translating and bringing in French idioms, fresh from the mint over the sea. A strange jumble of words and idioms, Old English, Scandinavian, and French, goes to form the New English that we now speak. About one third of the changes arose in the Saxon shires, to the South of the Great Sundering Line.[1] About two thirds of the changes come from the shires that lie between Colchester and York, where the new form of England's speech was for the most part compounded by the old Angles and the later Norse comers. Almost half-way between these two towns lived the man, whose writings are of such first-rate importance that they are worthy of having a Chapter to themselves.[2] After his time there came in but few new Teutonic changes in spelling and idiom, such as those that had been constantly sliding

[1] I wish that the different idioms in French and German could be traced to their local sources, in many an outlying nook. Here is a work well befitting some patriotic scholar.

[2] The Mercian Danelagh has claims upon architects as well as upon philologers. A rich treat awaits the traveller who shall go from Northampton to Peterborough and Stamford, and so to Hull, turning now and then to the right and left. Most of the noble churches he will see, in his journey of 120 miles, date from the time between 1250 and 1350.

into our written speech between 1120 and 1300. There had been a fixed Standard of Old English, the last traces of which may be seen in King Henry the Second's Charter, about 1160. There was to be a fixed Standard of New English, the first traces of which we shall find in 1303. But between these two dates, there was no Standard of English common to the whole land; every man spoke and wrote what seemed him good.[1]

[1] I return once more to the hard question of the Verbal Nouns in *ing* and the Infinitive at *en*. I advise the reader to look carefully at page 259, at page 384, at page 389, at page 411, at page 441, and at page 465. Let him moreover remember the vast influence exercised by translators from the French.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF THE NEW ENGLISH.

(1303–1310.)

We have seen the corruption of speech in the Mercian Danelagh and East Anglia: a corruption more strikingly marked there than in the shires to the South of the Great Sundering Line. We shall now weigh the work of a Lincolnshire man who saw the light at Bourne within a few miles of Rutland, the writer of a poem begun in the year that Edward the First was bringing under his yoke the whole of Scotland, outside of Stirling Castle. It was in 1303 that Robert of Brunne (known also as Robert Manning) began to compile the Handlyng Synne, the work which, more clearly than any former one, foreshadowed the road that English literature was to tread from that time forward.[1] Like many other lays of King Edward the First's time, the new piece was a translation from a French poem; the Manuel des Pechés had been written about thirty years earlier by William of Waddington.[2] The English poem differs in its diction from all the others that had gone before

[1] This work, with its French original, has been edited for the Roxburgh Club by Mr. Furnivall.

[2] The date of Waddington's poem is pretty well fixed by a passage in page 248 (Roxburgh Club edition of the *Handlyng Synne*). He writes a tale in French, and his translator says that the sad affair referred to happened 'in the time of good Edward, Sir Henry's son.'

it; for it contains a most scanty proportion of those Teutonic words that were soon to drop out of speech, and it therefore stands in marked contrast to the Cursor Mundi. On the other hand, it has a most copious proportion of French words. Indeed, there are so many foreign words, that we should set the writer fifty years later than his true date had he not himself *written* it down. In this book we catch our first glimpse of many a word and idiom that were afterwards to live for ever in the English Bible and Prayer-book, works still in the womb of Time. The new Teutonic idioms that took root in our speech after this period were few in number, a mere drop in the bucket, if we compare them with the idioms imported between 1120 and 1300. This shows what we owe to Robert Manning; even as the highest praise of our Revolution of 1688 is, that it was our last. The Handlyng Synne is indeed a landmark worthy of the carefullest study. I shall give long extracts from it; and I shall further add specimens of the English spoken in many other shires between 1300 and 1350. We are lucky in having so many English manuscripts, drawn up at this particular time: the contrasts are strongly marked. Thus it will be easy to see that the Lincolnshire bard may be called the Patriarch of the New English, much as Cadmon was of the Old English six hundred years earlier. We shall also gain some idea of the influence that the Rutland neighbourhood has had upon our classic tongue.[1] This was

[1] Robert seems to have been conscious that he was an innovator, for in p. 267 he asks forgiveness

> For foule Englysshe and feble ryme,
> Seyde oute of resun many tyme.

remarked by Fuller in his time; and in our day Dr. Latham tells us that 'the labouring men of Huntingdon and Northampton speak what is usually called *better* English, because their vernacular dialect is most akin to that of the standard writers.' He pitches upon the country between St. Neots and Stamford as the true centre of literary English.[1] Dr. Guest has put in a word for Leicestershire. Mr. Freeman tells us ('Norman Conquest,' V. 543), that when very young he noticed how little the common language of Northamptonshire differed from Book English. Our classic speech did not arise in London or Oxford; even so it was not in the Papal Court at Rome, or in the King's Palace at Naples, or in the learned University of Bologna, that the classic Italian sprang up with sudden and marvellous growth.

The Handlyng Synne shows how the different tides of speech, flowing from Southern, Western, and Northern shires alike, met in the neighbourhood of Rutland, and all helped to shape the New English. Robert of Brunne had his own mother-tongue to start with, the Dano-Anglian dialect corrupted by five generations since our first glimpse of it in 1120. He has their peculiar use of *niman* for the Latin *ire*, and other marks of the East Midland. From the South this speech had borrowed the change of *a* into *o* and *c* into *ch* (hence Robert's *moche*,[2] *eche*, *whyche*, *swych*), of *sc* into *sh*, *g* into *w*, and *o* into *ou*. From the West came to him one

[1] I visited Stamford in 1872, and found that the letter *h* was sadly misused in her streets.

[2] His *mioche* was used by good writers down to Elizabeth's time.

of the worst of all our corruptions, Layamon's Active Participle in *ing* instead of the older form: Robert leans to this evil change, but still he often uses the old East Midland Participle in *and*. With the North Robert has much in common: we can see by his rimes that he wrote the Danish *pepen* (p. 81) and *mykel* (p. 253), instead of the Southern *pen* and *mochyl*, which have been foisted into his verse by the Southerner who transcribed the Poem sixty years later. The following are some of the forms Robert uses, which are found, many of them for the first time, in the Northern Psalter: *childer*, *fos*, *ylka*, *tane*, *ire*, *gatte*, *hauk*, *slagheter*, *handmayden*, *lighten*, *wrecched*, *abye*, *sle*, *many one*, *downright*, *he seys*, *thou sweres*, *sky* (cœlum). He, like the translator of the Psalter, delights in the form *gh*; not only does he write *sygh*, *lagheter*, *doghe*, *nyghe*, *neghbour*, but also *kneugh* and *nagheer* (our *knew* and *nowhere*). This seems to show that in Southern Lincolnshire, in 1303, the *gh* had not always a guttural sound. He also sometimes clips the ending of the Imperative Plural;[1] but he turns the Yorkshire *thou has* into *thou hast*. In common with another Northern work, the Sir Tristrem, Robert uses the new form *ye* for the Latin *tu*; he has also the new senses given in that work to the old words *smart* and *croun*. He employs a multitude of idioms, that we saw first in the Cursor Mundi; the same Danish influence was at work in Yorkshire and in Lincolnshire. Like his East Midland brethren at Colchester and Norwich, he has no love for Prepositional compounds. He holds fast to the speech

[1] This is as great a change as if the Latin *intelligite* were to be written *intellig*.

of his forefathers when writing words like *yole*, *kirk*, *til werre* (pejus). For the Latin *idem* and *vaccæ* he has both *same* and *yche*, (probably written *ylk*,) both *ky* and *keyn*. We can gather from his poem that England was soon to replace *ȝede* (ivit) by *went*, *oþer* by *second*, *siþe* by *time*; that she was soon to lose her *swithe* (valdè), and to substitute for it *right* and *full*: *very* is of rather later growth.[1] Almost every one of the Teutonic changes in idiom, distinguishing the New English from the Old, the speech of Queen Victoria from the speech of Hengist, is to be found in Manning's work. We have had few Teutonic changes since his day, a fact which marks the influence he has had upon our tongue.[2] In his writings we see clearly enough what was marked by Sir Philip Sidney almost three hundred years later: 'English is void of those cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moods, and tenses, which I think was a piece of the Tower of Babylon's curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue; but for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the minde, which is the ende of speech, that it hath equally with any other tongue in the world.'[3] The Elizabethan knight ought to have been well pleased with the clippings and parings of the Edwardian monk.

As to his Vowels: Robert is influenced by the Scan-

[1] The idea of *swithe* is kept in Pepys's '*mighty* merry,' and the common phrase, 'you be *main* heavy.'

[2] *Its*, *unless*, *below*, *somehow*, *uppermost*, *outside it*, *bye and bye*, *he is being beaten*, *having been beaten*, *owing to this*, are our main Teutonic changes since Manning's time.

[3] Quoted by Marsh, *Lectures on English Language*, p. 88.

dinavian tradition, and sometimes clips the *a* at the beginning; he thus makes *syse* (our *size*) out of *assyse*, p. 289; *epistle* loses its first *e*, which reminds us of Orrmin. In p. 251 Robert replaces *i* by *o*; the Verb 'they *witen*' becomes 'they *wote*,' though another copy of the work has the form *wete*. He also replaces *a* by *o*; *lâdman* (dux) is turned into *lodesman*, something like *loadstar*. We see *not*, and sometimes *nat* (non), instead of the Southern *nout*. In *lady* (domina) he throws the accent upon the last syllable, as is so often done in our ballads:

For to be holde þe feyryst *lady*.—P. 103.

In this piece, the *y* having lost its old sound, is constantly used for *i*, as in *lady*. The old *heah* (celsus) now becomes *hyghe*; we keep the older sound in '*hey-day* of youth.' The *u* is used for other letters: we find *sunner*, not *soner* (citius); *tug*, not *teogan* (trahere); *ryȝtwus*, not *rihtwis* (justus). This last shows us why the Duke of York in 1452 wrote *rightuous* (Gairdner, 'Paston Letters,' I. lxxx), and why Tyndale, seventy years later still, wrote *righteous*; French words like *plenteuous* had an influence here. The *kude* (potuit) of East Anglia is now spelt *coude*, p. 133; we have thrust an *l* into the middle of this, from a false analogy. The *soru* of the Cursor Mundi is now written *sorow*; of course, the sound is unchanged. The old *fol* (stultus) is written *foyle*, p. 94, thus agreeing with the Yorkshire *fūl* in pronunciation. The old *teoþa* (decimæ) is seen as *tyþe*, p. 288.

There is much paring of Consonants. We see *shust*

and *wust* for our *shouldest* and *wouldest*; *asondre* and *afore* replace older forms of these words, the *a* coming instead of *on*. The *h* is clipped, for *he* or *ha* becomes *a*, in Mrs. Quickly's style. Orrmin's *forrþi* (præter) appears as *forby*, p. 361. In p. 374 *næfre* is pared down to *neere*, at the end of a line. *Y felte* (sensi) is in p. 380. We have already seen *teogan* as *tug*; another form of the word appears, to express *dalliance* :

And makeþ nat a mys þe toye.—P. 246.

The Lindisfarne Gospels, St. Luke, p. 151, had *losad wæs* for *perditus est*; this Participle is now written *lost*, p. 94, as in the Alexander. The old *þu lure* (perdidisti) is seen as *þou lostest* in p. 373. There was still some uncertainty about the new sound for the hard *g*; Robert has both *eye* and *awe* for *timor*, riming with *seye* and *sawe*. In p. 208 *gate* (via) rimes with ȝ*ate* (porta). Bruno, the German who became Pope Leo in Hildebrand's early days, is seen as *Brunyng*, p. 286; Caxton, long afterwards, used *Brownyng* as well as *Bruyn* for the bear. Hence comes a well-known English surname. The most startling of of all our clippings and parings is seen in p. 325, where St. Æthelthryth is shortened into St. Audre; the poet had doubtless knelt at her shrine on his way to Cambridge. Still later, Botolphston was to be cut down to Boston; we know how we shorten words like *Cholmondeley* and *Cirencester*.

There is much to remark in the Substantives. The Verbal Nouns are often repeated; as *þe meaning* (significatio), p. 138, he made *hys endyng* (mortuus est), p. 200. There are phrases like *serving man*, p. 28; *melk slope*

(milksop), p. 18, meaning a bag for milk; a *holy watyr clerk*, p. 360, used of an ignorant priest. The Substantive is dropped after the Participle, for *le mort* is Englished by *þe dede*, p. 74, and in p. 197 we hear of *þe dedys ryȝt*; we find the Passive Participle used in this way before the Conquest, as *the accursed*. We see the true Old English idiom of time-reckoning, when, at p. 154, *de cinc anz esteit* is turned into *was but fyve wyntyr olde*. In p. 281 stands *unto þat tyme tuelvemonthe end*; in Layamon's Second Text *a* would have come after the word *tyme*. The *bench* of Magistrates is foreshadowed in p. 171; *ȝe stywardes on benche*. The old *half* now becomes *behalf*; *on Goddes behalve* is in p. 281. *Score* seems to get a new meaning, that of *ratio*, at p. 346; *speke oute of skore*. We see the *cause why*, so often used by our lower orders, foreshadowed in *gode skyl why*, p. 6; *resun why*, p. 131; these come in the middle of sentences. In p. 276 stands *at alle endes*, where we should now use the kindred phrase, *at all events*. In p. 361 comes: 'I have shewede myn owne lyfe, none ouþer *mannes* y wyl dyscrye.' This Englishes *ma vie, ne mie autrue*; Robert's sentence becomes very concise by dropping *lyfe* after *mannes*. In p. 86 we hear of *Londun toune*, a continuation of the Old English idiom used before the Conquest. In p. 194 is the line

Ne slepte onely a lepy *wynke*.

Eton *Bucks* is the name that used to be given to the lads bred at King Henry the Sixth's renowned College. In the Handlyng Synne (p. 102), we see how the Old English *bucca* (hircus) came to mean a *dandy*.

And of þese *berdede buckys* also,
Wyþ hem self þey moche mysdo,
Þat leve Crystyn mennys acyse,
And haunte alle þe newe gyse;
Þer whylys þey hade þat gyse on hande
Was nevere grace yn þys lande.

These are Robert's own rimes; for Waddington, writing earlier, had not thought it needful to glance at the beard movement, though he bore hard on the ladies and their dress. The Scandinavians used *bokki*, much like our 'old buck,' 'old fellow.'

London thieves speak of their booty as *swag*. The word of old meant nothing but a *bag*; the connexion between the two ideas is plain; schoolboys still talk of *bagging* their mates' goods.

Þere was a wycche, and made a bagge,
A bely of leþyr, a grete *swagge*.—Page 17.

A Substantive may be employed almost as an Interjection. In p. 322, a man, in sore need, wants a virtuous priest; he calls out, using no verb:

A prest! a prest of clene lyfe!

Among the Adjectives, we see *misproud*, *bostful*. From *pité* is formed *pitiful*, and also *pitifulness*, which is now found; the form *pitous* (piteous) was used in Kent. *Right* is employed in a new sense in p. 359, *O ryȝt vyleyn!* something as we use *regular*.

We have already seen the Old English *god wer and rihtwis*; Robert slightly alters this by inserting *a* before both of the Adjectives; '*a* gode man and *a* ryȝt stedefaste,' p. 74.

In Pronouns, we are struck by the sharp distinction now first drawn between *thou* and *ye*; the *thou* is used by a husband to his wife, (alas for the age of chivalry!) as to a person beneath him; the *ye* is used by a wife to her husband, who is above her. See the long dialogue in p. 322. More than a hundred years before this time, Nigel Wireker had complained of the English students at Paris, who drank too much and were far too familiar in speech:

> *Wesseil* et *drinchail*, necnon *persona secunda*;
> Hæc tria sunt vitia quæ comitantur eos.[1]

That is, the English would not lay aside their national and straightforward *þu*, *thou*, for the polite French *vous*. The change was at length effected by 1303, and the distinction now made lasted for three hundred years. In 1603, an ignorant Irish servant, we are told, will *thow* his master, and think it no offence.[2] Coke told Raleigh on his trial that he *thou-ed* him. Rather later, the Quakers held it wrong to make distinctions between persons, and they therefore *thowed* every one, from the King downwards; they clave to the old Teutonic fashion, that had never been encroached on down to 1200, and they made an earnest protest against the Frenchified foppery of later times. King Alfred had used *geon* like the Latin *iste*, but always with a Substantive following; Robert uses *yon* by itself; 'Yole, is *yone* þy page?' p. 184; this idiom is still heard in Lincolnshire. Our poet is fond of repeating a Pronoun after a

[1] Wireker, p. 56.

[2] See Ellis' *Letters*, vol. I. 1st Series, p. 194.

Noun; as *rere sopers*, *þey be &c.*, p. 226. The phrase *al beo* (quamvis) had been used in the Ancren Riwle; *hyt* is now added in p. 241, and our *albeit* is still alive. The *body* of Gloucestershire is in full use, as *sum body*, p. 120. We see *fyrst and last*, p. 161; *one or ouper*, p. 205; *ones for ever*, p. 300; *ones or twyys*, p. 263; *see no more of him*, p. 341; *one of þys dayys*, p. 105; this last is a thoroughly French idiom. In p. 170 is *þey greve hym alle þat þey kan.* In p. 324 comes a common idiom:

> *Nat only* for soules ys he herde,
> *But also* for &c.

As to Verbs: the *shall* is employed in a new sense, which lasted to Addison's day, and is even now used by those that affect quaint speech. In p. 258 is 'an old fool *shal become a dyssour*, (a prater),' where the idea is *semper fit*, or *solet fieri*; 'you shall find so and so,' was most common in the Seventeenth Century. In p. 334 comes *every man shulde have* þoȝt; this Pluperfect Subjunctive seldom found before, was now coming in. I have already pointed out that *will* is used to express intense earnestness, as in the case of a threat or a promise; as 'I'll have you flogged;' 'I'll be down on you.' There is, in our days, one exception to this rule, whenever the Verb *be* is followed by a *hostile* Adjective; we may say, 'I will be merciful,' or 'I will play the tyrant,' but not 'I will be harsh.' But in 1303, this exception was not allowed, at least in the North, for we find in p. 180:

> y wyl be wroþ, and þou shal be me loþ.

Here the speaker is intensely earnest, bent upon work-

ing out his own salvation. There is a great difference between the North and South in this most difficult question of *shall* and *will*. In p. 256 comes *hyt may weyl be* for *fortasse*: this is the Scandinavian *má vera*. We find, not only the Optative, *God wulde*, but the more long-lived *wulde God*. A Verb is dropped in p. 355; *þou mayst me save, and* (et) *y have hele*; here of old another *may* would have followed the *y*; we see the true New English conciseness. The *do* and *did* before an Infinitive are often found, as in Gloucestershire; *we do jangle, þe netiles dyde byte.*[1] The Infinitive *to be* is dropped in p. 153; *better were þe chylde unbore, than fayle chastysyng*. Something of the same kind is seen in p. 299; and also the phrase *so unwyse for to crystene*; we should now substitute *as* for the first Preposition. The Infinitive represents *when* with a Subjunctive, in the sentence at p. 8; *he dede outrage, to make þe devyl omage*. Orrmin's *neden* (egere), replacing the old *þarf*, is now followed by the Infinitive; *nedyþ ye take ensample*, p. 40; still terser is, *Jephthah avowede, and nedyd naghte*, p. 92. When we say 'he need not,' there is an attempt to imitate the old Irregular Verbs, like *can* and *dare*, which had no *s* at the end in the Third Person. There is an attempt at forming the Future Participle in p. 40; *þou art yn weye be broghte to peyne*; 'he is about to tempt thee,' in this Poem, denotes not the simple Future so much as intense earnest purpose; this last sense lasted until 1611, 'Why go ye about to kill me?'

[1] In Somersetshire, they say 'he do be' for *est*. Mr. Earle (*Philology*, p. 492), gives instances of this idiom from the old Romance of Eger and Grime.

The Passive Voice makes further strides; any English writer before 1200 would have shuddered at such a sentence as, *a man may be ȝyve* (given) *penaunce*, p. 334. The Passive Infinitive is put for the rightful Active (Orrmin had done this) in p. 50, *þey beþ to be blamede*. To *kone* changes from *scire* to *discere* in p. 38, following the Scandinavian *kynna*; hence, to *con* a lesson. To *lere* stands for both *docere* and *discere*, as *learn* had stood in the Tristrem. To *win* adds the sense of *allicere* to that of *acquirere*; *to wynne a man fro synne to godenes*, p. 151. *Set* has, besides *ponere*, the new meaning of *æstimare* in *set at noȝt*, p. 242; the old sense remains, for we hear of a lady *setting her croket* (arranging her chaplet), p. 102; in our day she would *set her cap* at a man. In p. 200, executors *endyn* (moriuntur); in p. 211 Lazarus wishes to *pyke crummes*; like the Salopian *picke* (*peck*, of a bird) in 1220. In p. 246 *dwell* means *habitare* as well as *morari*; a new sense of the word that was now coming in. The old *weyve* had meant *torquere*; it now means *deserere*: in p. 258 the Southern transcriber has written *forsake* above this Danish word, which was not understood in the South. In p. 305 a woman is said to ȝyve (give) *here to folye*; this idiom is common to France and Scandinavia. In p. 332 comes *she dede* (acted) *for hym*; this we have seen in the *Dame Siriz*. In p. 334 stands *þey synke here synne* (forget it); hence our *sink the shop*. There is another French idiom in p. 340; *þe fame ran*. Mr. Tennyson's Northern farmer complains of his parson *casting up* (objicere) about a bairn; in p. 366 the elder Lincolnshire bard has, *þey kaste aȝens þe prest, þat &c.*; this is true Scandinavian.

In p. 393 the new *turn* supplants the old *weorþan* (*vertere* or rather *fieri*); we see *to turn bright*, the meaning which the Yorkshire *get* was to acquire. The verb *know* takes the further meaning *distinguere*; *none know ȝoure fro oure bones.* There is a new sense of *burst*; *Y brast on lagheter*, p. 288. We have seen in the Cursor Mundi 'the feast was done;' we now find, in p. 31, the Imperative with no Accusative following; *comyþ alle home, and havyþ doun*; hence the well-known *ha done, do!* of our lower orders. *Wed* takes no Accusative in p. 55; *he haþ wedded ynne þy kyn.* But, on the other hand, *run* takes one; *he ran hys cours*, p. 81, like the Scandinavian *renna skeið.* *Put* stands in the place of the old *do* in p. 89, *put him to swere*; in p. 186 is *þey swerep þarto*; the Old English *bind* was followed by *to*, and seems to have had influence here. A new verb is formed from *night* in p. 241, *he nyghetede*, where we should say, 'he was benighted.' There are phrases like *Y dar seye, sytte up at nyghte, holde her tunge, unwetyng. It falles him* (accidit) is a Scandinavian sense of the verb, already seen in the Cursor. *Shrew* seems to become a verb, for in p. 155 we hear of *shrewede sonys* (filii); the verb *beshrew* appears in later writers of the Century. The poet was used to write *troupe* both for *veritas* (as in the Cursor Mundi) and for *pignus.* The last is described in p. 330 as *troupe yn hande wyþ hande leyde.* From this he forms a new Verb in p. 56, *þey have troupede*; our *betroth* was to come a few years later. The old *treowsian* had long been thrown aside. This reminds us of what has been said above, that often in our language a word is dropped, leaves a perceptible gap, and then is revived in a slightly different form. Our common *he bereþ þe bel* is first seen in p. 135.

Among the Adverbs, we remark a tendency to cut off the *e* at the end; as *she loveþ trew, swere fals*; *truly* stands for *verè* in p. 359. *Neodlice* is pared down to *nedly*, p. 350; there is also *ruefully*, formed from the *reouþful* of the Ancren Riwle. We see the two senses of *lusty*, the bad *libidinosus* and the good *hilaris*; *a lusty þyng*, p. 245; *y drank lustyly*, p. 101. *Well* is used for *sanus*, as we see in p. 324, *he was weyl*. We find *sum tyme* (olim), p. 241;[1] *fro henne forwarde*, p. 220; *be tymes*, p. 221; *told it up and dounne*, p. 332; *oftyn tyme*, p. 388; *yn dede* (en effet, verè) p. 12. There is a form akin to what we have seen in the Cursor:

> For *yn as moche* þat she douþ men synne,
> Yn so moche shal she have plyghte ynne.—P. 110.

The sense of *quantum* here was soon to slide into that of *quoniam*. The *so forð and so feor* of 1200 now becomes *so fer furþ*; and this may be seen in Tyndale; we now cut off the last word. In p. 85 comes our Indefinite phrase, *he haþ do so or so*. In p. 213 the omission of *ne* before *but* produces the effect of the Latin *tantùm*, as we saw many years earlier; *he dyde but lete an hounde hym to*; the use of *do* is a novelty. In p. 247 comes *how as evere*; there is also *what as evere*; the *so* and the *as* are but two forms of the old *swa*. The *everihwar* (ubique) of the Ancren Riwle is replaced by our corrupt *every where*. The true English conciseness is seen again in p. 298, *3yf ge kunnat*, (know not) *lerneþ how to save þat &c.*; here *kun* has neither Accusative nor Infinitive after it.

Among the Prepositions, *for* stands instead of the old

[1] We may compare *sum tyme* and *whiles*, *whilum*; both of them express *aliquando* and *olim* too.

to; as, *it was for no gode*, p. 172; the French *pour* had influence in a phrase like *he meneþ alle þys for man*, p. 225; so, *to answere for*, p. 231. The French *à* clearly prompted the poet's 'set *at* noghte;' *to* or *on* would have been used earlier. In *be redy wyþ ny cloþys*, p. 41, it would seem that some such phrase as *when dealing* should go before *with*; it is a curious English idiom.[1] In p. 336 stands *shepe goun wrong besyde þe paþ*; here *beside* adds to *juxta* the further meaning of *extra*, and we have the key to Festus' phrase, 'thou art beside thyself.' We are told that harm is done, p. 346, *betwixe fals ande coveytous*; the Preposition here implies the agency of more than one cause; what with one, what with the other. We see the old Genitive making way for *of*; and this was further developed by the great writers of the Fourteenth Century, rather later; in p. 275 *þe syzte of here* comes instead of *her sight*, like Orrmin's *lufe off himm*.

The Interjections are, the scornful *Prut for þy cursyng, prest!* p. 96;[2] *Lorde! what shall swych men seye?* p. 137; this in the French was *Deu!* and we have seen it in the Cursor. The French *hei* of 1220 has now given way to the Scandinavian *æ* or *ay*; *ey* comes in p. 121, and this is the *eh*, now so widely prevalent in the Northern shires, standing at the beginning of a sentence, and expressing astonishment. In p. 136 is *what devyl! why &c.*; this is Robert's own, and is not translated from the

[1] I knew an Englishman, who thus addressed a waiter abroad: 'Soyez vite avec le dîner.'

[2] *Prutta* is a Scandinavian verb, 'to shout, when driving horses.'

French; *fy a debles* was a common phrase in French writings.

The Scandinavian words are: first, the form *þou are* (tu es), p. 162, which comes more than once; there are besides,

Cunning (scientia), from the Norse *kunnandi.*
Ekename (nickname), from the Swedish *öknamn.*
Lowly, from the Norse *lágligr.*
Nygun (niggard), from the Norse *nyggja*, to scrape.
Plank, from the Norse *planki.*
Stumble, from the Norse *stumra.*
Squyler (scullion), from the Norse *skola*, to wash.

In connexion with this last, *swele* (lavare) is also found in the Poem.

The Scandinavian Verb *sekke* was not understood in the South; for the transcriber writes over it *fyl þe bag*, in the following couplet—

> Þe whyles þe executours *sekke*,
> Of þe soule þey ne rekke.—P. 195.

We have still the phrase (rather slangy), to *sack* a sum of money. The Verb *hap* is used, coming from the Icelandic; Layamon had used the word only as a Noun.

The Verb *burble* represents the later *bubble.* There is the Celtic Noun *mattoc.*

There is a well-known by-word in p. 286:

> The nere þe cherche, þe fyrþer fro Gode.

In p. 76 stands 'many smale makeþ a grete.'

In p. 151 is—

> He þat wyl nat whan he may,
> He shal nat when he wyl.

The last line is a good instance, how *shall* implies *fate*, *will* implies *desire*.

We have another Poem, which is almost certainly by Robert of Brunne, belonging to the same date.[1] This is 'The Medytaciuns of þe Soper of oure Lorde,' a translation from Cardinal Bonaventura's original. There are some Northern forms, which have been left by the Southern transcriber, such as *them* and *nor*. In line 446, the original *þe ylc* has evidently been turned into *þeke*. In line 673 the Northern *seys* (dicunt) must have been written by Robert, riming with *dystroyes* (tu evertis); these have been altered into the Southern *seyþ* and *dystroyþ*, much to the loss of the sense, as regards the last Verb. The Southern transcriber may have been a Kentishman, for he has *a ver* (afar), and *teren* (lachrymæ). I have given at page 473 the close of the Poem, the part which is Robert's own, and no translation. There is here hardly a word, that cannot now be understood.

In p. 35 we see the insertion of *gh*, a form beloved by Robert, in the Teutonic *strait* of the Alexander; *streyght* is accordingly found, which we have but slightly altered. Hampole writes it *strek*, in the true old way. The *iswowe* of the Severn has an *n* at the end, and becomes *swoun*, as we still sound it.

The Verbal Nouns abound, such as *yn here seyng* (visus), *þe dowyng of &c.*, just as we now pronounce *doing*; these are both in p. 17. We hear of a *mysdoer* in p. 16; in the same page people go *by a bypaþ*; thirty

[1] Printed by the Early English Text Society. At p. xvii. of that work, I have set out my reasons for giving the authorship of the piece to Robert of Brunne.

years later Manning was to write of a *biwey* (bye-way) in another Poem of his. Here a Noun and Preposition form a compound. In p. 2 we read, (it) *ys hys dycyples fete wasshyng*; a curious instance of packing three Nouns together; a foretaste of our 'Commons Enclosure Act.'

On turning to the Adjectives, Orrmin's *wurþful* is replaced by a longer word, for we find *wurschypfullest* in p. 15; the *ful* with a Superlative ending is something new. The beautiful word *homely* is now coined from *home*, to express St. John's *familiarity* in sleeping on Christ's breast, p. 9.[1] *Al* is prefixed to *heyl* (salve) in p. 12.

Among the Pronouns, we see both the Southern *hem*, and the Northern *þem*, riming with each other in p. 12. The *ȝow* (vos) is used by the poet in addressing our Lord, just as it had been employed in the Havelok, which was written not far off.

As to Verbs, *shall* and *will* are confused, or rather *shall* is used for *must*, in *myn herte shulde ha broste* (burst), p. 32. There is a new idiom in p. 6; *yn goyng, he shewed obedyens*; this must be a translation of the French Participle preceded by *en*, and it is something altogether new in English; we need not here search for an Infinitive or Verbal Noun. In p. 12 comes, *as þou lest* (sicut tibi placet); before this time, the Dative *þe* would have been used. In p. 26 comes *y wyl do þat ys yn me* (what I can.) In p. 28 is *þey*

[1] Dandie Dinmont, after kissing Miss Lucy, excuses himself by saying, 'the Captain's sae hamely, he gars ane forget himsell.'

lakkyn strengpe; here-again the Dative *þem* would have been formerly used after *lakkes* (deest); the Verb now gets the sense of *carere*. *He gan* had long been used as an Auxiliary Verb; in p. 35 it stands as an Imperative; *gyn we hym grete*. *She rose* is turned into *she ryst*, in p. 32; hence the *riz* that may sometimes be heard now.[1] A Weak Intransitive Verb becomes Strong; the old *stician* (hærere) made its Perfect *sticode*; but in p. 29 comes the Perfect, *þe nayles stokyn yn þe tre*; we have seen something like this in the Tristrem. On the other hand, in p. 31 comes *melted* instead of the rightful *molten*; the first form is now used of the mind, the latter of metals. There are phrases like *say grace*, *bring about*; there is also the Scandinavian *farewel*; in p. 4, the expletive *y seye* comes in the middle of a sentence; we now use it at the beginning of a sentence.

A new Adverb is formed by adding *ly* to a Past Participle, as *krokedly*, p. 18; such a form as *laughingly* had been long established. The East Anglian form *feiþ* now produces *feyþfullye*, p. 9; the ending *ful* is in constant use, and is a pet form of Manning's. The *wherefore* comes in, referring to a foregoing sentence, like the Latin *quamobrem*; an instance of this may be found in p. 12.

When we see in p. 27, *y prey ȝow of frenshepe*, the *of* represents the Danish *af*, which stands in the same way before Abstract Nouns; the French *de* is used in the same way. Hence comes 'of your charity,' 'of his own accord.' The use of *for* is extended; *she fyl as for dede*

[1] Coleridge uses *rist* (surrexit) as a rime.

(dead), p. 27; the Scandinavian *fyrir* (for) sometimes stood for our *as*; thus, 'to know for certain.'

There is a new Verb, *wrap*, akin to the Frisian, in p. 31.

In my specimens taken from the Handlynge Synne, I have chosen parts that are wholly Robert's own and no translation from the French. I give first a tale of the great Bishop of Lincoln, who died but a few years before our poet's birth: I then give St. Paul's description of Charity, a well-known passage, which may be compared with our Version of the Bible put forth three hundred years after the Handlyng Synne: next comes a peep into English life in Edwardian days: next, a tale of a Norfolk *bondeman* or farmer; last of all comes the bard's account of himself and the date of his rimes. Had the Handlyng Synne been a German work, marking an era in the national literature, it would long ago have been given to the world in a cheap form. But we live in England, not in Germany. I could not have gained a sight of the poem, of which a few copies have been printed for the Roxburgh Club, had I not happened to live within reach of the British Museum.

Page 150.

Y shall ȝow telle as y have herde
Of þe bysshope Seynt Roberde,
Hys toname[a] ys Grostest
Of Lynkolne, so seyþ þe gest,[b]
He lovede moche to here þe harpe;
For mannys wyt hyt makyþ sharpe;
Next hys chaumbre, besyde hys stody,
His harpers chaumbre was fast þerby.

[a] surname
[b] story

Many tymes be nyȝtys and dayys,
He had solace of notes and layys.
One askede hym onys,[c] resun why [c] once
He hadde delyte yn mynstralsy:
He answerede hym on þys manere,
Why he helde þe harper so dere:
'Þe vertu of þe harpe, þurghe skylle and ryȝt,
Wyl destroye þe fendes myȝt,
And to þe croys by gode skylle
Ys þe harpe lykenede weyle.[d] [d] well
Anoþer poynt cumforteth me,
Þat God haþ sent unto a tre
So moche joye to here wyþ eere;
Moche þan more joye ys þere
Wyþ God hym selfe þere he wonys,[e] [e] dwells
Þe harpe þerof me ofte mones,[f]— [f] reminds
Of þe joye and of þe blys
Where Gode hym self wonys and ys.
Þare for, gode men, ȝe shul lere,[g] [g] learn
Whan ȝe any glemen here,
To wurschep Gode at ȝoure powere,
As Davyde seyþ yn þe sautere,
Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphan gle,
Wurschepe Gode, yn troumpes and sautre,
Yn cordys, an organes, and bellys ryngyng,
Yn al þese, wurschepe ȝe hevene kyng.'

Page 222.

Se now what seynte Poule seys
Yn a pystyl, þe same weys,—
'Þoghe y speke as weyl wyþ tung
As any man or aungel haþ song,
And y lyve nat wyþ charyte,
No þyng avayleþ hyt to me.
For y do þan ryȝt[a] as þe bras, [a] just
And as þe tympan, þat bete[b] was; [b] beaten

Þe bras to oþer ȝyveþ grete sown,
And bet hym self up and down.
And þoghe y speke al yn prephecye,
And have þe kunnyng of every maystrye,[e] [e] knowledge
And wyþ gode beleve myghte seye
Þe hylles to turne yn to þe valeye,
Lyf hyt ne be wyþ charyte wroghte,
Elles, he seyþ þat y am noghte.
Þogh y ȝyve all my wurldes gode
Unto pore mennys fode,
And ȝyve my body for to brenne
Opunly oþer men to kenne,[d] [d] teach
But ȝyf[e] þar be charyte wyþ alle, [e] unless
My mede þarfore shal be ful smalle.'
Loke now how many godenesse þer are
Wyþ oute charyte noghte but bare.
Wylt þou know þy self, and se
Lyf þou wone[f] in charyte? [f] dwell
'Charyte suffreþ boþ gode and yl,
And charyte ys of reuful wyl,
Charyte haþ noun envye,
And charyte wyl no felunnye;
Charyte ys nat irus,
And charyte ys nat coveytous;
Charyte wyl no bostful preysyng;
He wyl noȝhte but ryȝtwys þyng;
Charyte loveþ no fantome,
No þynges þat evyl may of come;
He haþ no joye of wykkednes,
But loveþ alle þat sothefast[g] es; [g] truthful
Alle godenes he up bereþ;
Alle he suffreþ, and noun he dereþ,[h] [h] harms
Gode hope he haþ yn ryghtewys þyng,
And alle he susteyneþ to þe endyng;
Charyte ne fayleþ noghte,
Ne no þyng þat wyþ him ys wroghte.
When alle prephecyes are alle gone,

And alle tunges are leyde echone,
And alle craftys fordo[1] shul be, [1] ruined
Þan lasteþ stedfast charyte.'[1]
Þus seyþ seynt Poule, and moche more,
Yn pystyl of hys lore.

Page 227.

As y have tolde of rere[a] sopers, [a] late
Þe same falleþ of erly dyners;
Dyners are oute of skyl and resun
On þe Sunday, or hye messe be doun.[2]
Þoghe þou have haste, here ȝyt a messe,
Al holy,[b] and no lesse, [b] completely
And nat symple a sakare,[c] [c] the consecration part
For hyt ys nat ynow for þe,
But[d] hyt be for lordys powere [d] unless
Or pylgrymage þat haþ no pere.
Are þou oghte ete, þys ys my rede,
Take holy watyr and holy brede;
For, yn aventure kas, hyt may þe save,
Lyf housel[e] ne shryfte þou mayst have. [e] Eucharist
Alle oþer tymes ys glotonye
But hyt be grete enchesun[f] why. [f] reason
On oþer hyghe dayys, ȝyf þat ou may,
Þoghe þat hyt be nat Sunday,
Here þy messe or þou dyne,
Lyf þou do nat, ellys ys hit pyne;[g] [g] woe
Lordes þat have preste at wyl,
Me þenkeþ þey trespas ful yl
Þat any day ete, are þey here messe,
But ȝyf[h] hyt be þurghe harder dystresse. [h] unless

---

[1] In these twẽnty-two lines there are thirteen French words, not counting repetitions; in our Version of 1611, there are but twelve French words in the same passage.

[2] *Ere* appears in this piece as *or* and *are*.

Pe men þat are of holy cherche,
Þey wete weyl how þey shul werche;
But swych[i] y telle hardyly,
Þat swych a preste douþ glotonye
Þe levyþ hys messe on þe auter
For to go to a dyner.
So ne shulde he do, for no þyng,
For love ne awe of no lordyng,
But ȝyf[k] hyt were for a grete nede
Þat shulde hym falle, or a grete drede.

[i] such
[k] unless

Page 269.

Yn Northfolk, yn a tounne,
Wonede a knyȝt besyde a persone;[a]
Fyl hyt so, þe knyȝtes manere[b]
Was nat fro þe cherche ful fere;[c]
And was hyt þan, as oftyn falles,
Broke were þe cherche ȝerde walles.
Þe lordes hyrdes often lete
Hys bestys yn to þe cherche ȝerde and ete;
Þe bestys dyde as þey mote nede,
Fylede[d] overal þere þey ȝede.[e]
A bonde man say[f] þat, ande was wo
Þat þe bestys shulde þere go;
He com to þe lorde, and seyde hym þys,
'Lorde,' he seȝde, 'ȝoure bestys go mys,[g]
Ȝoure hyrde doþ wrong, and ȝoure knavys,
Þat late ȝoure bestys fyle þus þese gravys;
Þere mennys bonys shulde lye,
Bestes shulde do no vyleynye.'
Þe lordes answere was sumwhat vyle,
And þat falleþ evyl to a man gentyle;
'Weyl were hyt do[h] ryȝt for þe nones
To wurschyp[i] swych cherles bones;
What wurschyp shulde men make
Aboute swych cherles bodyes blake?'

[a] parson
[b] manor
[c] far
[d] defiled
[e] went
[f] saw
[g] amiss
[h] done
[i] honour

Þe bonde man answerede and seyde
Wurdys to gedyr ful weyl leyde,
'Þe Lorde þat made of erþe erles,
Of þe same erþe made he cherles;
Erles myȝt and lordes stut[k]
As cherles shal yn erþe be put.
Erles, cherles, alle at ones,
Shal none knowe ȝoure fro oure bones.'
Þe lorde lestenede þe wurdes weyl
And recordede hem every deyl;[l]
No more to hym wulde he seye,
But lete hym go furþe hys weye;
He seyde þe bestys shulde no more
By hys wyl come þore.[m]
Seþen[n] he closede þe cherchegerde so
Þat no best myȝt come þarto.
For to ete ne fyle þer ynne,
So þoȝt hym seþen þat hyt was synne.
Þyr are but fewe lordes now
Þat turne a wrde so wel to prow;[o]
But who seyþ hem any skylle,[p]
Myssey̆é azen[q] fouly þey wylle.
Lordynges, þyr are ynow of þo;[r]
Of gentyl men, þyr are but fo.'[s]

[k] stout
[l] bit
[m] there
[n] afterwards
[o] advantage
[p] wisdom
[q] abuse in turn
[r] those
[s] few

Page 3.

To alle Crystyn men undir sunne,
And to gode men of Brunne,
And speciali alle bi name
Þe felaushepe of Symþrynghame,

[1] In one copy of the *Harrowing of Hell*, Christ calls Satan 'lording.' In the Genesis and Exodus, Moses calls his rebels 'lordings.'

Roberd of Brunne greteþ ȝow
In al godenesse þat may to prow.[a] [a] advantage
Of Brymwake yn Kestevene,
Syxe myle besyde Sympryngham evene
Y dwellede yn þe pryorye
Fyftene ȝere yn companye.

. . . . .

Dane Felyp was mayster þat tyme
Þat y began þys Englyssh ryme.
Þe yeres of grace fyl[b] þan to be [b] fell
A þousynd and þre hundrede and þre.
In þat tyme turnede y þys
On Englysshe tunge out of Frankys,
Of a boke as y fonde ynne;
Men clepyn þe boke 'Handlyng Synne.'

MEDYTACYUNS OF THE SOPER OF OURE LORDE.—P. 35.

Thenk, man, and se Cryst aftyr hys deþ:
For þy synne streyght to helle he geþ,
Oute of þe fendys bonde to þe fre,
And þe fende bonde to make to þe.
Þenk, also, þe grete dede of hys powere:
He myȝt ha sent an angel to save us here,
But þan of oure salvacyun we shulde nat þanke hym,
But calle þe aungel saver of alle mankyn.
Þarfor hys fadyr so hertly loved us,
He ȝave us hys owene gete[a] sone Ihesus; [a] begotten
Þan we onely hym þanke and do hym onoure,
As fadyr, as former, socoure, and savyoure.
Þank we now oure savyoure, þat salve us haþ broȝt,
Oure syke soules to save, whan synne haþ hem soȝt.
Of hys grete godenes gyn we hym grete,
Seyyng þe wurde of Sakarye þe holy prophete:
'Lorde God of Israel, blessed mote þou be,
'Þy peple þou hast vysyted and boȝt hem to þe,

'Whych setyn yn derkenes of dep and dysese,
'Þou lyȝtest hem and ledest yn to þe wey of pese.'
To þat pes pereles we prey þou us bryng,
Þat levyst and reynest withoute endyng.
Amen.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE.

(A.D. 1338.)

Now of kyng Robin salle I ȝit speke more,
& his broþer Tomlyn, Thomas als it wore,
& of Sir Alisandere, þat me rewes sore,
Þat boþe come in skandere, for dedes þei did þore.
Of arte he had þe maistrie, he mad a corven kyng
In Cantebrige to þe clergie, or his broþer were kyng.
Siþen was never non of arte so þat sped,
Né bifore bot ǫn, þat in Cantebrigge red.
Robert mad his fest, for he was þore þat tyme,
& he sauh alle þe gest, þat wrote & mád þis ryme.
Sir Alisaunder was hie dene of Glascow,
& his broþer Thomas ȝed spiand ay bi throw,
Where our Inglis men ware not in clerke habite,
& non wild he spare, bot destroied also tite.
Þorgh þé kyng Robyn þei ȝede þe Inglis to spie,
Here now of þer fyn þam com for þat folie.[1]

---

[1] Hearne's *Langtoft's Chronicle*, II. 336. The lines were written by Manning, some thirty years after his *Handlyng Synne*, at a time when he lived further to the North. The Northern dialect is most apparent. We here read of his getting a glimpse of the Bruce family at Cambridge, about the year 1300 or earlier. I can trace the North Lincolnshire dialect to 1515. In the accounts for building Louth Broach come the words *gar*, *kirk*, *ligging*, *spure* (rogare), *they has.*—Poole's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 360. Mr. Tennyson's *Northern Farmer* should also be studied.

YORKSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1340.)

HAMPOLE.

Þan waxes his hert hard and hevy,
And his heved feble and dysy;
Þan waxes his gast seke and sare,
And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare;
His mynde es short when he oght thynkes,
His nese ofte droppes, his hand stynkes,
His sight wax dym, þat he has,
His bax waxes croked; stoupand he gas;
Fyngers and taes, fote and hande,
Alle his touches er tremblande.
His werkes for-worthes that he begynnes;
His hare moutes, his eghen rynnes;
His eres waxes deef, and hard to here,
His tung fayles, his speche is noght clere;
His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes,
His wyttes fayles, and he ofte dotes;
He is lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward,
Bot to turne hym fra wrethe it es hard.[1]

DURHAM (?).

(About A.D. 1320.)

SMALL'S METRICAL HOMILIES.

A tal of this fest haf I herd,
Hougat it of a widou ferd,
That lufd our Lefdi sa welle,
That scho gert mac hir a chapele;

[1] Morris, *Specimens of Early English*, p. 172. This poem should be compared with the *Northern Psalter*, at page 317 of my work.

And ilke day deuotely,
Herd scho messe of our Lefdye.
Fel auntour that hir prest was gan
His erand, and messe haved scho nan,
And com this Candelmesse feste.
And scho wald haf als wif honeste
Hir messe, and for scho moht get nan;
Scho was a ful sorful womman.
In hir chapele scho mad prayer,
And fel on slep bifor the auter,
And als scho lay on slep, hir thoght
That scho in tyl a kyrc was broht,
And saw com gret compaynye
Of fair maidenes wit a lefedye,
And al thai sette on raw ful rathe,
And ald men and yong bathe.

LOWLAND SCOTCH.

(About A.D. 1320.)

(Thai) has grantit (and) has letin (the) purtenauncis evin in line thritti wyntir iere bi iere forutin oni mene foluand, that thai sal grind for their fode, (and) sal gif grayting (and) uphalding abute thaim, (and) sal tak fuayl (fram) tha that comis in thair stede, (gif) thai haf mister (of) gres, water, and other richtwis profitis; (thai) sal ger be made (and) be yemit gaynand biging.[1]

[1] These, the oldest Teutonic words written in Scotland that have come down to us, were set down over the Latin words in a Charter of Scone about 1320. See the *Liber de Scon* (Bannatyne Club), p. 104, where a fac-simile of this Charter is given. I have strung the words together as well as I can. There are also the words, *four and tuentiand fat* (vas); *cnaveschipe* (servitium); *laverdscape* (dominium).

LANCASHIRE.

(About A.D. 1350.)

SIR GAWAYNE.

'Where schulde I wale þe,' quoth Gauan, 'where is þy place?
I wot never where þou wonyes, by hym þat me wroȝt,
Ne I know not þe, knyȝt, þy cort, ne þi name.
Bot teche me truly þerto, & telle me howe þou hattes,
& I schal ware all my wyt to wynne me þeder,
& þat I swere þe for soþe, & by my seker traweþ.'
'Þat is innogh in nwe-ȝer, hit nedes no more,'
Quoth þe gome in þe grene to Gawan þe hende,
'Gif I þe telle triwly, quen I þe tape have,
& þou me smoþely hatȝ smyten, smartly I þe teche
Of my hous, & my home, & myn owen nome,
Þen may þou frayst my fare, and forwardeȝ holde,
& if I spende no speche, þenne spedeȝ þou þe better,
For þou may leng in þy londe, & layt nó fyrre,
bot slokes;
Ta now þy grymme tole to þe,
& let se how þou cnokeȝ.'
'Gladly, syr, for soþe,'
Quoth Gawan; his ax he strokes.[1]

SALOP.

(About A.D. 1350.)

WILLIAM AND THE WERWOLF.

Hit tidde after on a time, as tellus oure bokes,
As þis bold barn his bestes blyþeliche keped,

---

[1] Morris, *Specimens*, p. 233. In Alliterative verse obsolete words always abound.

Þe riche emperour of Rome rod out for to hunte,
In þat faire forest feiþely for to telle;
Wiþ alle his menskful meyné, þat moche was & nobul;
Þan fel it hap, þat þei founde ful sone a grete bor,
& huntyng wiþ hound & horn harde alle sewede;
Þe emperour entred in a wey evene to attele,
To have bruttenet þat bore, & þe abaie seþþen,
But missely marked he is way & so manly he rides,
Þat alle his wies were went, ne wist he never whider;
So ferforth fram his men, feþly for to telle,
Þat of horn ne of hound ne miȝt he here sowne,
& boute eny living lud lefte was he one.[1]

HEREFORDSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1300.)

Þilke þat nulleþ aȝeyn hem stonde
Ichulle he habben hem in honde.

. . . . .

He is papejai in pyn that beteth me my bale,
To trewe tortle in a tour, y telle the mi tale,
He is thrustle thryven in thro that singeth in sale,
The wilde laveroc ant wolc ant the wodewale,
He is faucoun in friht dernest in dale,
Ant with everuch a gome gladest in gale,
From Weye he is wisist into Wyrhale,
Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale.
In a note is hire nome, nempneth hit non,
Whose ryht redeth roune to Johon.[2]

---

[1] Morris, *Specimens of Early English*, p. 243.

[2] *Percy Society*, Vol. IV. 26. See the Preface to this volume, where the writer of this Poem is proved to be a Herefordshire man. He here mentions the Wye. *He* in this piece stands for *heo* (illa). The two detached lines at the beginning come from the version of the *Harrowing of Hell*, in the same manuscript.

WARWICKSHIRE (?).

(About A.D. 1300.)

The kyng sygh, of that cité,
That they no myghte duyre:
They dasscheth heom in at the gate,
And doth hit schutte in hast.
The tayl they kyt of hundrodis fyve,
To wedde heo lette heore lyve.
Theo othre into the wallis stygh,
And the kynges men with *gonnes* sleygh.
Theo cité upon the see stod;
And hat is al Alisaundres blod:
He het his folk, so a wod wolf,
Asaile the cité on the see half.
So they dude with myghtly hond.
The pore folk of the lond,
And ladies bryght in bour,
Seyen that heo ne myghten dure.
Hy stolen the kayes under their yate;
The kyng there hy leten in whate,
And fellen aknowe in the strete,
Tofore and under his horses fete.[1]

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1300.)

Þus come, lo! Engelond into Normannes honde.
And þe Normans ne coupe speke þo bote her owe speche,
And speke French as dude atom, and here chyldren dude also teche.
So þat heymen of þys lond, þat of her blod come,
Holdeþ alle þulke speche, þat hii of hem nome.

[1] Weber's *Metrical Romances*, I. 135.

Vor bote a man coupe French, me tolp of hym wel lute.
Ac lowe men holdep to Englyss, and to her kunde speche gute.
Ich wene per ne he man in world countreyes none,
Pat ne holdep to her kunde speche, bote Engelond one.
Ac wel me wot vorto conne bothe wel yt ys,
Vor pe more pat a man con, pe more worp he ys.[1]

THE ENGLISH PALE IN IRELAND.

(About A.D. 1310.)

Jhesu, king of heven fre,
Ever i-blessid mot thou be!
Loverd, I besech the,
to me thou tak hede,
From dedlich sinne thou zem me.
while I libbe on lede;
The maid fre, that bere the
so swetlich under wede,
Do us to se the Trinité,
al we habbeth nede.
This sang wrozt a frere,
Jhesu Crist bé is socure!
Loverd, bring him to the toure!
frere Michel Kyldare;
Schild him fram helle boure,
Whan he sal hen fare!
Levedi, flur of al honur,
cast awei is cáre;
Fram the schoure of pinis sure
thou sild him her and thare! Amen.[1]

---

[1] Hearne's *Robert of Gloucester*, I. 364.

[2] *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, II. 193. From the Southern dialect of this piece, we might readily gather, even if history did not help us, that the early English settlers in Ireland came, not from Chester, but from Bristol and from ports near Bristol. The Wexford dialect is said to be very like that of Somerset and Dorset.

SOMERSETSHIRE (?).

(About A.D. 1300.)

Wharfore ich and Annas
To-fonge Jhesus of Judas,
vor thrytty panes to paye.
We were wel faste to helle y-wronge,
Vor hym that for ȝou was y-stonge,
in rode a Godefridaye.

. . . . .

Man, at fulloȝt, as chabbe yrad,
Thy saule ys Godes hous y-mad,
and tar ys wassche al clene.
Ac after fulloȝt thoruȝ fulthe of synne,
Sone is mad wel hory wythinne,
alday hit is y-sene.[1]

WILTSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1320.)

Four tounes ther beoth of bras,
Al for sothe thus hit was;
Feole thinges ther beth ynne,
Craftilich ymad with gynne,
Quic brumston and other alsuo,
With wylde fur ymad therto,
Salgemme and salpètre,
Salarmoniac ther ys eke,
Salnitre that ys briht.
Berneth bothe day and nyth.

[1] *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, II. 242. The *chabbe* (ich habbe) reminds us of Edgar's dialect in *Lear*, and of the Somersetshire Ballads in *Percy's Reliques*. The word *bad* (malus) occurs in this piece, which made its first appearance in the *Cursor Mundi*: it is also found in *Robert of Gloucester* and the *Handlyng Synne*.

This ys in the tonnes ydon,
Ant other thinges moni on.
Berneth bothe nyht and day,
Ah never quenchen hit ne may.
In four sprunges the tonnes liggeth,
Ase this philosophres suggeth,
The hete withynne, water withoute,
Maketh hot al aboute.
The two sprunges urneth yfere;
Ah the other tuo beth more clere;
Therof ys maked, ful ywis,
That kyngesbathe ycleped ys.[1]

HAMPSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1350.)

Everych sullere of bred in þe heyȝestrete of Wynchestre, þat is out of fraunchyse, shal to þe kynge to custome, by þe ȝere, twey shullynges, and to þe clerk a peny, ȝif he selleþ meche by ȝere; and ȝif he selleþ lasse, upon þe quantite. And at oþer stretes, sex paus oþer þre, oppon þ^t handworke is. And doþ to wetynge, þ^t non of hem ne sholde fecche here bred, but þere þe lapen stondeþ, upon peyne of þe amercy of þe byggere and of þe sellere, to fore þe tyme of none. And þat non of hem ne fecche no bred of non bakere whanne hii ne mowe habbe no warant; and ȝif hii do, þat hem self hyt waranty. And þat everych bakere habbe hys seal y-knowe upon hys loff, þat he ne mowe wiþsegge ȝif he is oftake oþer þan weel.[2]

[1] This piece particularly mentions Bath, Malmsbury, Laycock, and Devizes. I think it may be put down to Wiltshire. It is in Ritson's *Romances*, II. 277.

[2] Old usages of Winchester, *English Gilds*, p. 355; Early English

OXFORDSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1340.)

That is fro old Hensislade ofre the cliff into stony londy wey; fro the wey into the long lowe; fro the lowe into the Port-strete; fro the strete into Charewell; so aftir strem til it shutt eft into Hensislade—De Bolles, Couele, et Hedyndon. Thare beth hide londeymere into Couelee. Fro Charwell brigge andlong the streme on that rithe. . . . This privilege was idith in Hedington . . . . myn owne mynster in Oxenford. There seint Frideswide . . . . alle that fredome that any fre mynstre frelubest . . . . mid sake and mid socna, mid tol and mid teme . . . . and in felde and alle other thinge and ryth that y . . . . belyveth and bid us for quike and dede and . . . . alle other bennyfeyt.[1]

KENT.

(A.D. 1340.)

Aye þe vondigges of þe dyeule zay þis þet volzeþ. 'Znete Jesu þin holy blod þet þou sseddest ane þe rod vor me and vor mankende: Ich bidde þe hit by my sseld

Text Society. These usages seem to have been compiled about 1350; the document is the most valuable thing in the whole of the thick volume relating to Gilds. We here see what Standard English would have been, had not London supplanted the older capital of England. The *meche* reminds us of Alfred's *swelc* and *hwelc*.

[1] Komble, *Codex Dipl.* III. 329. This Charter is a late forgery, and seems much damaged. The proper names in it will be recognised by Oxford men.

avoreye þe wycked vend al to mi lyves ende. zuo by hit.'

Þis boc is Dan Michelis of Northgate y-write an Englis of his ogene hand, þet hatte: Ayenbite of inwyt. And is of þe boc-house of saynt Austines of Canterberi, mid þe lettres: C: C:

Holy archanle Michael.
M. C. C. Saynt Gabriel and Raphael.
Ye brenge me to þo castel.
Þer alle zaulen vareþ wel.

Lhord Jhesu almizti kyng. þet madest and lokest alle þyng. Me þet am þi makyng. to þine blisse me þou bryng. Amen.

Blind and dyaf and alsuo domb. Of zeventy yer al vol rond. Ne ssolle by draze to þe grond. Vor peny vor Mark ne vor pond.[1]

MIDDLESEX.

(A.D. 1307.)

Of Syr Edward oure derworth kyng,
Ich mette of him anothere faire metyng.
Me thought he rood upon an asse,
And that ich take God to witnesse;
Ywonden he was in a mantell gray,
Toward Rome he nom his way.
Upon his hevede sate a gray hure,
It semed him wel a mesure.

. . . . .

Into a chapel I cum of ure lefdy,
Jhe Crist her leve son stod by,
On rod he was an loveliche mon,

---

[1] *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (Early English Text Society), page 1. Here we must read *s* for *z*, *sh* for *ss*, and *f* for *v*.

Als thilk that on rode was don.
He unneled his honden two.
. . . . . .
Whoso wil speke myd me Adam the marchal
In Stretforde Bowe he is yknown and over al.
Iche ne schewe nouȝt this for to have mede,
Bot for God almiȝtties drede.[1]

BEDFORDSHIRE (?).

(About A.D. 1340.)

Godys sone þat was so fre,
Into þis world he cam,
And let hym naylyn upon a tre,
Al for þe lóve of man;
His fayre blod þat was so fre,
Out of his body it ran,
A dwelful syȝte it was to se;
His body heng blak and wan,
Wiþ an O and an I.
. . . . .
His coroune was mad of þorn
And prikkede into his panne,
Bothe byhinde and a-forn;
To a piler y-bowndyn
Jhesu was swiþe sore,
And suffrede many a wownde
Þat scharp and betere wore.
He hadde us evere in mynde,

[1] Warton, *History of English Poetry*, II. 2. This London dialect was to be somewhat altered before the time of Mandeville and Chaucer. The *thilk* (ille) held its ground in this city for 140 years longer. Compare this piece with the older London poem at page 300 of my work.

In al his harde þrowe,
And we ben so unkynde,
We nelyn hym nat yknowe,
Wiþ an O and an I.[1]

NORFOLK.[2]

(1329.)

This ys ye statuȝ of ye gylde of ye holy apostyl sente peter, bygunnyn in ye toune of Lenne, in ye wrchepe of god and of oure lavedi sente marie, and of ye holy apostyl sente peter, in ye yere of our lord MCCCXX. nono. And yis gyld schal have foure morne-spechis in ye yer . . . And quoso be somund to any morne-speche, and he be in toune, and wyl not come, ne make non aturne for hym, he schal a peny to ye lythe . . . And ordeynid it is, y^t^ ye catel of y^s^ gyld ye alderman schal delyvere to ye skeveynis, be sufficient borus to bryngyn ye catel ageine. . . . And ye dene schal have, for is travalye in y^e^ ȝere, vi.d.

Ȝis is ye verye copy of ye gylde of sent Petyr ye apostyle, holdyn in Lene aforeseyde, wrytyn on ye feste of seynte hillari, Anno Domini millesimo CCC^o^ octogesimo octavo.

[1] *Legends of the Holy Rood* (Early English Text Society, p. 150). This piece seems to me to be the link between Manning's *Handlyng Synne* and *Mandeville's Travels* sixty years later. It has forms akin to both, and seems to have been compiled half-way between Rutland and Middlesex.

[2] *English Gilds* (Early English Text Society), p. 62. We here see the East Anglian *quo* for *who*; in other Norfolk papers of the Century, we find *arn* (sunt) and *everilka* (quisque), *kirke, sal, offrende, uphald, toy* (duo).

We see what wild anarchy of speech was raging throughout the length and breadth of England in the first half of the Fourteenth Century; and this anarchy had lasted more than two hundred years, simply because the old Standard had been swept away by foreign conquest. But at the same time we plainly see that the dialect of the shires nearest to Rutland was the dialect to which our own classic speech of 1877 is most akin, and that Robert of Brunne in 1303 was leading the way to something new. In another work I hope to weigh the causes that led to the triumph of Robert's dialect, though this triumph was not thoroughly achieved until a hundred and sixty years after he began his great work. Strange it is that Dante should have been compiling his *Inferno*, which settled the course of Italian literature for ever, in the selfsame years that Robert of Brunne was compiling the earliest pattern of well-formed New English. Had King Henry the Eighth known what we owe to this bard, the Lincolnshire men would not have been rated in 1536 as follows: 'How presumptuous are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience!'[1]

[1] I talk of the dialect of the 'Rutland neighbourhood;' this takes in Leicester, Stamford, Peterborough, and Brunne; a fact to be borne in mind.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INROAD OF FRENCH WORDS INTO ENGLAND.

Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Though thou be matched with cloth of friese.
Cloth of friese, be not too bold,
Though thou be matched with cloth of gold.[1]

THE nearer we approach 1303, the more numerous become the French words upon which the right of English citizenship was being bestowed. In the Thirteenth Century was made the greatest change that ever played havock with our tongue. A baleful Century it was, when we look to English philology; though a right noble Century in its bearing on English politics and English architecture. The last word suggests a comparison: if we may liken our language to a fine stone building, we shall find that in that wondrous age a seventh part of the good old masonry was thrown down, as if by an earthquake, and was withdrawn from mortal ken. The breach was by slow degrees made good with bricks, meaner ware borrowed from France; and since those times the work of destruction and reparation has gone on, though to a lesser extent than before. We may put

[1] It is not, I need hardly say, the words used by us in common with the Frisians, that I should call 'cloth of friese.'

up with the building as it now stands, but we cannot help sighing when we think of what we have lost.

Of old, no country was more thoroughly national than England: of all Teutonic lands she alone set down her annals, year after year, in her own tongue; and this went on for three Centuries after Alfred began to reign. But the grim year 1066, the weightiest year that England has seen for the last twelve centuries, has left its mark deeply graven both on our history and on our speech. Every time almost that we open our lips or write a sentence, we bear witness to the mighty change wrought in England by the Norman Conqueror. Celt, Saxon, Angle, and Dane alike had to bow their necks beneath a grinding foreign yoke. It is in English poetry that we can trace the earliest change. Poetry always clings fast to old words, long after they have been dropped by prose; and this was the case in England before the Conquest. If we take a piece of Old English prose, say the tales translated by Alfred, or Ælfric's Homilies, or a chapter of the Bible, we shall find that we keep to this day three out of four of all the Nouns, Adverbs, and Verbs employed by the old writer; but of the Nouns, Adverbs, and Verbs used in any English poem, from the Beowulf to the Song on Edward the Confessor's death, about half have dropped for ever. From Harold's death to John's grant of the Charter, English prose did not let many old words slip. But it was far otherwise with England's old poetic diction, which must have been artificially kept up, for long before 1066. Of all the weighty words[1] used in the Song on the Confessor's

[1] Substantives, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Verbs, I call 'weighty

death, as nearly as possible half have dropped out of our speech. In the poems written a hundred years after the Conquest, say the rimes on the Lord's Prayer published by Dr. Morris, the proportion of words of weight, now obsolete, is one-fifth of the whole, much as it is in English prose of that same date.[1] In the poem of 1066, nearly fifty out of a hundred of these words are clean gone; in the poem of 1160, only twenty out of a hundred of these words cannot now be understood, I think it may be laid down, that of all the poetic words employed by English Makers, nearly one-third passed away within a hundred years of the Battle of Hastings. Henry of Huntingdon makes laughable mistakes, when he tries to turn into Latin the old English lay on Brunanburgh fight, though its words must have been in the mouths of poets only fourscore years before his time. English poetry could not thrive without patrons; and these, the Abbots and Aldermen that thronged the Winchester Court of old, had been swept away to make room for men that cared only for the speech of Rouen and Paris. The old Standard of English died out: if Chronicles were written at Peterborough, or Homilies still farther to the South, they were compiled in corrupt English, at which Bede or Alfred would have stared. As to English poetry, its history for one hundred years is all but a blank. Old legends of England's supposed history, it

words;' they may alter, while the other parts of speech (except Interjections) hardly change at all. I cannot see the use of counting, as Marsh does, every *of* and *the* and *him*, in order to find out the proportion of home-born English in different authors.

[1] Morris, *Early English Homilies*, First Series, I. 55 (Early English Text Society). I gave a specimen at page 170.

is true, such as those that bear on Arthur or Havélok, were dressed up in verse; but the verse was French, for thus alone could the minstrel hope that his toil would be rewarded. In 1066, England's King was praised in good ringing English lines, that may have been shouted by boisterous wassailers around the camp fires on the eve of Hastings; sixty years later, England's Queen was taught natural history in French verse, and was complimented therein as being 'mult bele femme, Aliz numée.'[1] Little more than a hundred years after the battle of Hastings, an English writer gave the names of the wise English teachers of old, Bede, Cuthbert, Dunstan, and others; he then complained how woefully times were changed—new lords, new lore:

> [Nu is] þeo leore forleten.
> and þet folc is forloren.
> nu beoþ oþre leoden.
> þeo læ[reþ] ure folc.
> and feole of þen lorþeines losiæþ.
> and þat folc forþ mid.[2]

What was it that supplanted the old lore, thus forsaken by this forlorn folk? We naturally turn to the Chronicle, as the earliest record of the change referred to. It is easy to understand why the French word *castel* should be used for a much-hated foreign building.[3]

[1] Wright, *Popular Treatises on Science*, p. 74.

[2] Page 5 of the Worcester Manuscript, referred to at p. 200 of this work.

[3] About 1200, Orrmin uses *casstell* in one and the same page (II. 277) in two senses. He first applies it to a village, that of Salim, following the Latin of the Gospels, a sense in vogue with us long before the Norman Conquest. He then applies it to a fortress,

But why should the Chronicler of the year 1066 write the outlandish *corona*, instead of the old *cinehelm*, that had been good enough for all our Kings up to these times?[1] Its new wearer is called Wyllelm *Bastard*, in that awful year. Englishmen soon got into the way of using needless French words, which supplanted their own old terms. The ancient *cweartern* makes way for *prisun* in 1076. The utterly unneeded French word *beandon* comes in the Peterborough Chronicle for 1069. French and English Nouns are compounded, to form *castelmenn* in 1067. In 1079, a soldier is shot with an *arblast*. A little later, we hear of the *mynster æt þære Bataille* (Battle Abbey), hallowed in 1094; three years more bring us to the wall built by Rufus about the *Tûr* in London; the old form *torr*, a relic of the Romans, was making way for a new French form. The first French Verb, naturalised by taking an English ending, was *dubbade*, in the year 1086; we next find *acordedan* in the year 1119; *démobiliser* is, I think, the last French Verb that we have admitted to the rights of citizenship; it recalls our watching the Russians on the Pruth early in 1877.

It is curious to mark the changes of foreign words in the Chronicle. The *Filippus* of 1075 becomes *Philippe* in 1087; the *Francrice* of 1085 becomes *France* in that same 1087. The *Ungerland* of 1057 is seen as *Hungrie* in 1096. We get some idea of the old French

which we ought to build against the Devil; this is the later French sense.

[1] *Corona*, however, had been used in the Lindisfarne Gospels for our Lord's crown of thorns.

pronunciation, when we find Englishmen writing *Baius, Ou, Peitevin, Alvearnie, Mortoin, Angeow, Blais, Puntiw,* for well-known French proper names. In the *Bunan* (Boulogne) of 1096, a relic of the old form *Bononia* still remains; in the same year *Gosfrei* shows us the earliest English form of our *Godfrey*. A Vowel-sound, new to English ears, is first heard in the account of that year; the Crusaders tarry in *Puille*; this is the Normans' way of sounding Apulia, the rich land conquered by them sixty years earlier. It might have been written *Poille*, for the two forms *Corboil* and *Corbuil* are found in the Chronicle. The old *Sexlande* of 1129 becomes *Alamanie* thirty years later; the *Heanrig* of 1105 appears as *Henri* in 1107; rather earlier, we hear of *Flandres* and *Nativiteð*. The months of the year lose their old Latin form; in 1097 comes *August*; and rather later, *Maies monðe, Junies monðe,* and *Julies monðe*. The form *Johan* (John) is found in 1114. The names of Saints, if in common use, were shorn of their Latin endings; in 1087, we hear of the *Abbot of St. Augustine*; two years later, of *Martines mæssan* (Martinmas); here there is no *Saint* prefixed; in 1098, we read of the *Abbot on S^ce Ædmund*; here the *byrig* is suppressed. The word *evangelista,* applied to St. Luke in 1119, shows the first inroad of the foreign *ist,* which now too often supplants the true Old English *er*; some choose to write *philologist,* instead of *philologer,* and I suppose *astrologist* will soon be reckoned the correct thing. About 1120, we had begun to prefer French forms to the older Latin; for in the Homilies of that time, we find *iscole* written for the former *scôlu*.

The Old French must always command earnest attention from a student of English, and we have a fine specimen of the language that was fashionable at King Henry the First's Court about 1120. Philip de Thaun's works have been printed by Mr. Wright ('Popular Treatises on Science,' pp. 20 to 131).[1] We here find such good old forms as, *Damnes-Dés* (Dominus Deus), *meis* (mensis), *praier*, *Cristien*, *salveur*, pronounced like the present French *salviour*, one of the many French sounds that England has preserved more faithfully than France herself. The sound of the old *oi* may be easily guessed, when we find both *croiz* and *cruiz*, *Join* and *Junie*; there is also *buil*, which the French usually wrote *boil*; *poi* stands for the modern *peu*; *bloie* for *bleu*. In Doomsday Book, the English *Cruland* (Crowland) appears as *Croiland* and *Cruiland*. The French have kept the true old sound of the *oi* in *jouir*; they have lost it in *joie*. We must have recourse to Littré's noble French Dictionary, if we would know the old sound of *oi* or *oy* in French and English. *Reculer* and *recoil* were once pronounced alike. When we compare the Latin *bullire* and *bouillir*, its present corruption in Northern France, we may safely say that the *u* or *ou* was pronounced in the first syllable of the word from first to last. Yet the word was written *boil* by French authors in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century; the *oi* was therefore one way of writing *u* or *ou*; it came to England soon after the Conquest; we have already seen *Hoilant* written for what is now *Hulland*.

[1] In a work on English, it is better to examine this poem of about 1120, than to go back to earlier French poems, such as the Hymn of St. Eulalie of 900, or the Legends of 1050.

Of all the corruptions of Northern Gaul, none is more astounding than that of *aqua* into what is now pronounced as *o*.. In the present work, p. 45, we see that *acva*, *ava* has already become *ève*, as *sequi*, *sequere* became *suivre*; a further step is taken in p. 36, where we find the Plural *ewes*, for *v* was often confounded with *u* or *w*; in this shape the word came to England, and was written *ewe* in 1320, whence comes our *ewer*. The confusion between *o* and *u* is seen, for *Rume* replaces *Rome*; *nune* stands for *none* (noon). In p. 42, *quod* becomes *que*, and two lines onward *qui* becomes *ki*. We see the insertion of *b* in *numbre* and *trembler*. In p. 75, there is both the old *demonstrance* and the new *demustre*; we English have both *monstrance* and *muster*, coming from the same Latin word. *Filius* has already become *fiz*, p. 83; and a few lines later, *David* loses its last letter in the Scotch fashion. *Carnem* is seen both as *carn* and *charn*; *horas* loses its first letter, and is written *ures* (hours); we English write this *h*, but do not sound it. In p. 124, there is both *hume* and *ume* (homo). *Baptize*, in p. 109, was perhaps the first word in *ize* that was adopted in England; the outlandish ending is now far too common. *Tirant* takes the intrusive *t* at the end. We see the confusion between the letters *u* and *v*, for the old *Judeu* and the new *Juev*, p. 124, are both found; the form *Jueu* was adopted in England, while France held to *Juev*, afterwards *Juif* We have treated *lieutenant* in exactly the contrary way. *Quarré* (carré) is written in p. 75; hence our *quarry* where we keep the old French sound.

We have seen *Dammes* (dominus); when this wor

was used of a man, it became *danz*, p. 37; and the word *Dan* was applied to monks in England, down to the Reformation. We find, *en vain*, *verei*, *remanant*, *Parais* (Paradise), *bruise*, *cors*, *Ynde*, *deservir*, *gravel*, *cuint* (quaint), *mave* (mavis), *sa per* (his peer, equal), *richeises*: *Tei* and *sei* are written, not *toi* and *soi*. *Estre* stands for a Substantive, and led the way to our *being*. *Defendre* (p. 112), already stands for *vetare*. *Juste* is used in p. 84 for *prope*; it was employed later in England for *even*. The favourite Interjection *Deus* is in p. 21. *Prise* (prize) is in p. 76; we have now but one word in English for both *æstimare* and *navis capta*. *Magister* was always of old connected with learning; hence in p. 86, *maistrie* stands for *scientia*, a meaning it long conveyed in England; in France, it further expressed *dominium* at this time. In p. 94 we see both of the forms for *venari*, *cacher* and *chacer*; whence our *catch* and *chace*; the hard *c* comes from Picardy, the soft *ch* from Burgundy; *chastel* is in the Song of Roland of the Eleventh Century, and lasted in this shape for five hundred years in France.[1]

The speech of the English castle and the English hovel for two hundred years after 1066 was almost as distinct as the Arve and the Rhône are when they first meet. We see, however, that a few French words very early found their way into English. A shrewd observer long ago told us how *ox*, *sheep*, and *swine* came to be called *beef*, *mutton*, and *pork*, when smoking on the board. Treading in his steps, I venture to guess how our bluff forefathers began their studies in the French

[1] See the word in Littré's *Dictionary*.

tongue. We may imagine a cavalcade of the new aristocracy of England, ladies and knights, men that perhaps fought at Hastings in their youth; these alight from their steeds at the door of one of the churches, that have lately arisen throughout the land in a style unknown to Earl Godwine. The riders are accosted by a crowd of beggars and bedesmen, who put forth all their little stock of French: 'Lady *Countess*, clad in *ermine* and *sabeline*, look from thy *palfrey*. Be *large* of thy *treasure* to the *poor* and *feeble*; of thy *charity* bestow thy *riches* on us. We will put up our *orisons* for thee, after the *manere* and *custom* of our *religion*. *Ease* our *poverty* in some *measure*; that is the best *penance*, as thy *chaplain* in his *sermon* says. By all the *Prophets*, *Confessors*, *Patriarchs*, and *Virgins*, show us *mercy*. Feed us from thy *rents* and *garners*, *chasten* the *glutenerie* of *jogelours*, and *sew* (follow) after *Paradise*.' Another speech would run thus: 'Worthy *Baron*, thou hast *honour* at *Court*; speak for my son in *prison*. Let him have *justice*; he is no *robber* or *lecher*, that men should *blame* him. The *sergeants waited* for him in the *market*; he *paid* them nothing, so these *catchpoles* have wrought him sore *miseise* behind the *bars*. *Mend* all this; so Christ *accord* thee *peace* at the day of *livreison*!' A priest would talk learnedly of the *frut* of the *sacramens*, the *archangles*, *absolucion*, the *miracles*, the *processiun* to the *sepulcre*, the *feste* of the *Circumcisiun*, the *tables* of the Law, the *tapers* to be lighted; and he would explain the *Crede*. The word *Baptist*, with its strange ending, would become

familiar.[1] Not one of these sixty French words was in English use before the battle of Hastings; but we find every one of them set down in writing within little more than a century after that date, so common had they then become in English mouths.[2] Those of the needy, who knew but little French, must have learnt at least how to bawl for *justice*, *charity*, *mercy*, on seeing their betters. The first letter of the word *justice* shows that a new French sound was taking root in England. The words *Emperice* and *mercy*, used in these times, brought in new hissing sounds; the *s* in English came already quite often enough.

In the Homilies of 1160 we trace a new change. Foreign proper names had hitherto for the most part unbendingly maintained their Latin form in England. They were now being corrupted, owing to French influence; at pages 47 and 49 we find mention of *Seint Gregori*. At page 9 we see both the old form *folc of Iudeus* and the new form *þe Giwis* (Jews). *Maria* and *Jacobus* now become *Marie* and *Jame*. French words were being brought in most needlessly; thus we read at page 51, 'crabbe is an *manere* (kind) of fissce.'

In the Essex Homilies, the French is seen elbowing out the Latin from proper names. *Andreas* and *Mattheus* become *Andreu* and *Matheu*. What was of old written *leo* is turned into *leun* (lion); *ælmesse* into *almes*;

[1] We have already seen *Evangelist*. Now and then a French word puzzles an English scribe; thus *barrage* is written for *baraine* (barren), in the *Essex Homilies*, p. 133.

[2] They may be found in the *Saxon Chronicle* and in the Series of *Homilies* (Early English Text Society).

marma into *marbelstone* (page 145). *Deciple* replaces the old *learning knight*; it had appeared as *discipul* in the Lindisfarne Gospels. An intruding letter is seen in common words; *mazere* is found at page 163. This *z* did not become common in England for nearly three hundred years.[1] Layamon wrote his long poem the Brut about 1205; but, though this was mainly a translation from the French, he seldom employs a French word, and hardly ever without good reason. In this poem we find *Admiral, astronomy, hue* (in our phrase hue and cry), *messagere, montaine, nonne, pilgrim, image.*[2] We have seen that *elep-has* was known to our fathers as *ylp*. Layamon borrows a new form, *olifant*, from the French; the older English form of the word lasted down to 1230, the later French form to 1550, about which time the eagerness for classic learning changed Skelton's *olifant* into *elephant*, as we see in Udall's well-known play. Thus, within little more than two centuries, we in England employed three different forms of one Latin word. Layamon sometimes writes *clarc* instead of *clerc*, and we have followed his pronunciation; *Darby*, instead of *Derby*, had come earlier.

Orrmin is even more Teutonic than Layamon in his scorn of outlandish words. About this time, the days of King John, one fifth of the weighty words in a passage are such as have become obsolete in our days. Under John's grandson, this proportion was to be woefully altered. The only thing that could have kept up

[1] See the 'Paston Letters' (Gairdner), I. 510.

[2] I have mentioned here only the most common of Layamon's words, borrowed from the French; he has many other foreign terms,

a purely Teutonic speech in England would have been some version of the Bible, a standard of the best English of the year 1200. But this was not to be; Pope Innocent III. and his Prelates had no mind to furnish laymen with weapons that might be so easily turned against the Church. She was widely different now from what she had been in the days of those old translators, Bede and Aldhelm. Orrmin himself tells us that many found fault with him for bringing Scripture truth down to the level of the common folk. We have missed much; had he given us a good version of the Scriptures, accepted over all England, our tongue would have had the present flexibility of the New English, and would have kept the power of compounding new words out of her own stores, the power that belonged to the Old English.

We may now glance at the Hali Meidenhad, about 1210; a few French words in it may be here mentioned. The word *trukian* is used not only in its Old English sense (deficere), whence comes *truckle*, but also to express the French *troquer*, whence comes the *truck* system. The foreign *beast* had become so common, that the Adverb *beasteliche* (p. 9), was formed. As to this word, I may remark that the Irish have kept its true pronunciation, which has been dropped by France and England. Cæsar brought his Italian *bestia* to the Seine; William brought his *beste* to the Thames; and Strongbow's soldiery brought *beste* (bayste) to the Liffey. France has dropped the Consonant *s*, England has corrupted the sound of the Vowel *e*, but Ireland keeps the word just as it was first given to her. This is a good

instance of the way that an outlying colony will keep words and sounds dropped by the parent country; this was remarked of the Irish Pale by shrewd observers in Elizabeth's days. The same observation holds good of the American Colonies in our own time.[1] The old *profian* now takes a new sense; hitherto it had meant 'to try;' at p. 23 it means 'to make clear;' a third sense, 'to turn out,' was to come fourscore years later. One French word, now always in our mouths, may be seen in p. 41; *omnino* is there Englished by *al cwite*. Sometimes a writer would turn his English into French; thus in Sawles Warde, p. 247, stands, '*mete*, þat me *meosure* hat.'

The Ancren Riwle, written about 1220, is the forerunner of a wondrous change in our speech. The proportion of Old English words, now obsolete, is therein much the same as it is in the writings of Orrmin and Layamon. But the new work swarms with French words, brought in most needlessly. What could we want with such terms as *cuntinuelement*, *Deuleset* (God knows), *belami*, *misericorde*, and *cogitacium*? The author is even barbarous enough to give us the French *sulement*, where we should now write *only*. I set down a short sample, underlining the foreign words. 'Heo weren *itented*, and þuruh þe *tentaciuns* ipreoved to treowe *champiuns*, and so mid rihte *ofserveden* kempene *crune*.'[2]

[1] The *nous sommes* of Paris keeps far nearer to the *nos sumus* of old Rome than the *noi siamo* of New Rome does. So also the *somos* of Madrid.

[2] Page 236 of the Camden Society's edition. I have not underlined *proved*, as that foreign word was in English use before the Norman Conquest.

Many a word, embodied in the English Bible and Prayer-book three hundred years later, is now found for the first time in our tongue. These words were accented in the French way, on the last French syllable; the usage held its ground for four hundred years.[1] Indeed, it still rules us when we pronounce *urbane* and *divine*.

As to Vowels, the French *au* is much employed to produce the broad sound of *a*, as *saumple*, *haunche*, *avaunce*; all that love pure English should sound the *a* in these words as broadly as in *father*.[2] We see *bame* and *sauter*; in these an *l* is dropped. The *e* of the Chronicle becomes *a* in *Amperur* (emperor), p. 244. The *ea* was the favourite way of writing the French sound *é* all through the South West of England; one copy of the Ancren Riwle has *beast* for the French *beste*, p. 58. The foreign *oi* is sounded like the French *ou* or *ou-e*; in the Ancren Riwle, the *oi* has not the sound of the French *é*, as in *Moretoin*. What is written *angoise* in p. 212 appears as *anguise* (anguish) in p. 110. In p. 94 *anui* (annoyance) appears in one copy, *annu* in another; a third has *ennui*.[3] *Noise* is first found in p. 66; *creoice* (crucem) comes often, though it could not drive out the Danish *kross*; we still keep the old sound of the French *oi* in *crusade*. It was not till about 1290 that *oi* was commonly used in England to express the French *é*.

[1] One of these words, accented in the French way, is preserved in the old rimes, 'Mistress Mary, quite *contrāry*.'

[2] I know some people, well educated, who sound *bath* something like *bay-eth*; a horrible travesty of a fine old sound.

[3] How few suspect that *annoy* and *ennui* are but two forms of one word? the first form lasted down to 1400 in France.

As to Consonants: *ures* (horæ) is written without the *h*. *Delit* is written without the *gh*, which we long afterwards inserted, to imitate the Latin *delector*. The old *regula*, a Benedictine word, had hitherto been written *regol* in England; we were now to throw aside the Latin for the French, and to write it *riwle* (rule). Three hundred years later, Tyndale was to bring in *regiment* (imperium); our physicians have long talked of a *regimen*; and in our day, the British penny-a-liner writes *régime* for what in 1860 was called *rule*, *government*, or *system*.[1] Here are five different forms, coming from the old *rego*, applied to common life, as distinguished from *royalty*. The old *capitle*, founded on the Latin, was written in Norfolk down to 1440; but in the Ancren Riwle the French form *cheapitre* (chapter) is adopted. The French corruption of *capitale* is seen in p. 224 as *chetel* (chattels); the other form *cattle* was not set apart for beasts until after 1400; we may also talk of *capital*. In p. 42 we see the stages in the corruption of a well-known word, *antiphona*, *antempne*, *antefne*; *anthem* was to come later. When we find forms like *lescuns* and *noblesce*, we see the source of such forms as *scion*. We long kept the Old French *quarrel* (bolt); we remark in p. 62 the more corrupt form *quarreau*, pronounced like *quarriou*. When we find *cruelte* in the Ancren Riwle, we see at once that England has often kept Old French words in a purer form than France herself has done. *Awaitie* in p. 174 shows us how strongly the *u* in *aguetter* was once pronounced in

[1] In my youth, we talked of the Feudal System; the apes of sham refinement now talk of the Feudal Régime, which would have astonished Hallam.

France; the form *ouaitter* still lingers in Lorraine. The *Willelm* and *reliquiæ* of the Chronicle now become *Willam*, p. 340, and *relikes*, p. 18; Latin was thrown aside for French.

Among the Substantives, we find *rute* (via), *belami* (long a familiar English term of greeting), *deinte*, *Giwerie* (Jewry), which shows how *g* came to be softened in English. The French Verbs give birth to English Verbal Nouns, as *in his departunge*, p. 250. We see *make drupic chere* (vultus), p. 88; *in ancre persone* (in an anchorite's person), p. 126; *trusseau* and *trusse* stand for *bundles* in p. 168; *dame* is used for *mother*. The inroad that French was to make even into the English Paternoster is foreshadowed; in p. 26 *dimitte nobis debita nostra* is Englished by 'forȝif us ure *dettes*, al so as we vorȝiveð to ure *detturs*.' We still pronounce these words in the French way, though hundreds of years later we imitated the Latin, when writing them. Many technical terms of religion come in, as *silence* and *wardein*. We light upon *spitel* (hospital) and *mester* (ars), afterwards corrupted into *mystery*, a confusion with a well-known Greek word. There is *givegou* (gewgaw) and *beaubelet* (bauble).

Among the Adjectives is *folherdi*. We must turn to p. 316, if we would know the source of *make a fool of myself*; we there find *ich habbe iheon fol of me sulven* (de me ipso). In p. 46 we hear of 'a *large* creoiz;' this shows that the Adjective was adding the meaning of *magnus* to that of *prodigus*. At p. 202 we see the source of our phrase, 'he is but a *poor* creature'; for the term cowardice is there said to embrace the *poure iheorted*. In p. 192 may be found the phrase *gentile*

wummen. Long before the Norman Conquest foreign words had been forced to take English endings before they could be naturalised, as *beclysan* and *regollîce*; in the Ancren Riwle, French Adjectives have to take the English signs of comparison, as *larger* and *tendrust.*

Among the Verbs is *entermeten* (meddle), p. 172, a word well known in Scotland; also *fail, lace,* and *cry.* This French *crier* is now beginning to drive out the Old English *gridan.*

If it be true, as some tell us, that the mingling of the Teutonic and Romance in our tongue make 'a happy marriage,' we see in the author of the Ancren Riwle the man that first gave out the banns. He was, it would seem, a Bishop, well grounded in all the lore that Paris or Rome could teach; and he strikes us as rather too fond of airing his French and Latin before the good ladies, on whose behalf he was writing. For sixty years, no Englishman was bold enough to imitate the Prelate's style of composition.

One curious effect, due to the new French words, must be pointed out. I have already said that *crier* was driving out *gridan*: these kindred words are often found alongside each other in this Century; and, unhappily, it is usually the French one that has held its ground. It is now and then hard to tell whether some of our commonest words are home-born or of French growth, so great is the confusion between the Teutonic words brought to the Thames by Hengist, and the kindred words brought to the Seine by Clovis and afterwards borne across the Channel by William the Conqueror. The kinsmanship in meaning and sound must have

bespoken a welcome in England for many of these French strangers that follow.

Teutonic.	*Romance.*
Abeatan	Abattre
Acofrian	Recouvrir
Affæred	Affraie
Alecgan	Aloyer
Ange	Anguisse
Astundian	Estonner
Befûlan	Defouler
Beorn	Baron
Bigalian	Guiler
Biwrezen	Bitraie
Blæ (blue)	Bloie
Blencan (blench)	Fléchir (flinch)
Bord	Borde
Band	Bounde
Bolle	Boule
Brand	Brande
Brêc	Brêche
Bregdan	Broder
Bricke (Old Dutch)	Brique
Brysan	Bruiser
Buskr (Old Norse)	Bosche
Burgher	Burgeis
Butten (Old Dutch)	Bouter
Cempa	Champioun
Ceosan	Choisir
Cnif	Canif
Cocer	Cuivre
Cost (Old Dutch)	Couster
Cuppa	Coupe
Dareð	Dard
Deman	Damner
Eaþ	Eise
Fâcen	Feign
Feoh	Fief
Feorme	Ferme
Feorren	Forain
Fersc	Fraiche
Fin	Fin
Fladra (Old Norse)	Flatter
Flatr (Icelandic)	Plat
Frakele	Fraile
Gæta (Icelandic)	Guetter
Gafol	Gabelle
Gagn (Icelandic)	Gagner
Geard	Gardin
Gemêne	Commune
Gesamnian	Assembler
Gote	Gouttière
Gridan	Crier
Hâm	Hameau
Hasti	Hastif
Hatian	Hadir[1]
Healsbeorga	Hauberc
Heard	Hardi
Hereberg	Herbier
Hreinsa (Old Norse)	Rincer
Hrothgar	Roger

[1] The Teutonic words in French are mostly High German; but *hadir* (odisse), now *haïr*, is an exception; it is plainly derived from the Low German; from *hatian*, not from *hassen*. The Franks lived on the border between the two great forms of German speech.

Teutonic.	*Romance.*
Hurlen	Hareler
Hurten	Hurter
Irre	Ire
Isila (High German)	Isle
Lafian	Laver
Laga	Lei
Lagu	Lac
Line	Ligne
Logian	Loger
Mænigu	Mainê
Mearc	Marche
Mersc	Marais
Miðla (Icelandic)	Mesler
Murþer	Meurtre
Nefe	Neveu
Nesh	Nice
Pearroc	Parc
Pine	Peine
Pocc	Poche
Priss (Icelandic)	Pris
Ræt	Rat
Ring	Rang
Reaf	Robe
Reafian	Ravir
Ric	Riche
Rypere	Robeor
Scærn	Escornir
Sceoh	Eschuir
Seam	Sumpter
Secan, sechen	Sercher
Siker	Secure
Sinder	Cendre
Solian	Soillier
Spendan	Despender
Speja (Icelandic)	Espier
Spillan	Spuiller
Staðol	Estable
Stedja (Icelandic)	Staier
Stoppan	Estufer
Stræc	Estreit
Strip	Estrif
Strudan	Destruir
Syfer	Sobre
Targen	Targier
Targe	Targe
Teld	Tent
Trahtnian	Traiter
Trumpe (Icelandic)	Trompe
Tumba (Old Norse)	Tomber
Turnan	Tourner
Wæven	Weiver
Weardan	Guarder
Wearnian	Guarnir
Weddian	Gager
Westan	Guaster
Wimpel (Old Dutch)	Guimple
Wise	Guise
Wyrre	Guerre

We further see the English *er* and the French *ier* alike used as endings, and the English *mis* employed as a prefix side by side with the French *més*. The English *in* answers to the French *en*. In the Ancren Riwle we find *kunsiler* (councillor), *bestly*, *ungracius*. French and

English endings and prefixes begin to jostle each other; in the Wohung of our Lord, we find both *debonairté* and *debonairship*.

Some of the terms, in the long list set out pp. 506–7, have an obvious resemblance to each other; but it may be doubted whether the best philologers alive at this time—whether even Giraldus Cambrensis or Roger Bacon, suspected that the French *dame* was akin to the English *tamer*, and that *ad* and *at*, *pour* and *for*, were but different forms of one old word. The year 1220 is a turning-point; not only did shoals of French words effect a lodgement in the English of the Ancren Riwle, but many French idioms were transferred into the English Life of St. Catherine.

The Old English poetic word-store, a luxury that must have been unknown to the great mass of the nation, had passed away immediately after the Conquest; the Old English prose kept its old words and its power of compounding fairly well (except in the neighbourhood of East Anglia), long after 1200. The reason is, that all through the hundred and fifty years after the Conquest, some degree of cultivation had been bestowed upon the language. The mighty William, his son, and his great-grandson, sometimes worded their Charters in English.[1] They were statesmen in the highest sense of the term; they had none of that vulgar and overbearing spirit that finds its choicest trophy in sweeping away an

[1] Some of these are set out by Hickes, *Thesaurus*, I. 15. In one Charter, about 1160, *eow* (vos) is written *ȝeau*; this seems to show that the French *eau* had then the sound of their modern *iou*, and explains how we came by *bewty*.

old language; this brutish style of despotism was reserved for the masters of Poland and Lithuania in the days of railways and telegraphs.

In the England of the Twelfth Century, religion did not lag behind statecraft. More than one version of the Gospels was put forth in the English of 1150; and in the same way Ælfric's Homilies were altered so as to suit more modern hearers; this went on, as we have seen, all through the Twelfth Century. King Henry II. himself, though he was anything but an Englishman, seems to have understood English, as we learn from a well-known tale in Giraldus. About this time the English Chronicle was copied out at Canterbury, and the old inflections were preserved in writing, if not in common speech. From 1200 to 1220, a vast quantity of English, both prose and verse, was given to the public. Orrmin and others were the champions of religion; Layamon undertook to handle history, according to his lights.[1] A brilliant future seemed to be in store for our tongue in 1220; much pains was being bestowed upon its cultivation: if it could outlive the Norman Conquest, it need fear nothing; so at least we might have deemed. But affairs took a very different turn; English was thrust back; at the moment it seemed about to recover the ground lost a hundred and fifty years earlier. The next sixty years are the most disastrous in our history, from a philologer's point of view.

English and Latin had run on, side by side, as the two exclusive vehicles of the language of our government,

[1] People complain of his Arthurian Legends; but even these were better than no English History at all.

from 600 to 1160; from the latter date to 1215, Latin reigned without a rival. No Englishman could take offence if the language of the Church, revered alike by himself and by his French-speaking neighbour, were used as the organ of government. To come down to our own days, there was little strife between Croat and Magyar, when Latin was the official tongue of the whole of the Hungarian realm; the disuse of this tongue, a silly innovation, was one of the causes of the bloody civil wars in 1848. In England, linguistic enmities never rose to the boiling-point, as on the Danube. On the contrary, in that renowned year 1215, a third official language was seen; the Great Charter is said to have been put forth in French, not in Latin.[1] French and Latin henceforward ran on side by side down to 1362, when English was once more made the language of the Law Courts. It was no insult to the English of the Thirteenth Century that public affairs should be discussed and set forth in the tongue of the higher classes, who were doing their utmost for the common welfare of all, and who were working for the hovel every whit as much as for the castle or the monastery. True it was that the nobles in England talked French among themselves; but they were more drawn to their English-speaking neighbours than to the Court favourites that came over here from Poitou and Savoy. The time, when another language besides Latin appeared as a mouthpiece of the English government, ushers in the darkest days of the history of our language;

[1] Earle, *Philology*, 53.

its cultivation all but ceased; after the Ancren Riwle comes an ugly gap of sixty years that the philologer must ever hold accursed. No long original English poem, except the Owl and Nightingale, was put forth from 1220 to 1320. There is no English prose treatise at all (written in the easy idiom of the day), from 1220 to 1340, except a few Kentish scraps. Strange it is that the same period of time, which heaped upon England political boons unparalleled in the world's history, should have mangled England's speech in a way unknown to the literary records of other countries.

What was the reason of the great change between 1220 and 1280, the Second Division of the Middle English, the period of Decay? I answer; all Englishmen, high and low, were flinging themselves headlong into the chase after foreign fashions. Our Nobles and Bishops spoke French in their own homes, though they could make shift to understand the English spoken by a neighbour or a vassal. In 1215 they did a priceless service to England; they acted boldly in the teeth of King and Pope alike. Never did any aristocracy so nobly earn the thanks of the whole land; and this stout patriotism never slackened for generations. The wicked John, the weak Henry, the mighty Edward, all alike had to bow before a majesty greater than their own. Well may we be proud of our Bigods and Bohuns. It is no wonder if England imitated her leaders' speech; in this course burghers and priests would be the most forward. If anything ever was fit to draw forth national poetry, it was the great struggle that was going on about 1260. Of this date we have many Poems, in which the platform

of the national leaders is set out, and the English heart pours forth its patriotic fire; but all these Poems, with one short exception, are couched in French and Latin.

If none of the great European literatures, as Hallam has said, was of such slow growth as the English, the reason is not far to seek. The French, Spanish, Provençal, Italian, Norse, and German literatures were fostered by high-born patrons. Foremost stand the great Hohenstaufens, Emperors of the Romans, ever August; then come Kings of England, of Norway, of Sicily, of Castile; Dukes of Austria, Landgraves of Thuringia, Counts of Champagne; together with a host of knights from Suabia, Tuscany, Provence, and Aragon. A far other lot fell to the English Muse: for many long years she basked not in the smiles of King or Earl; her chosen home was far away from Court, in the cloister and the parsonage; her utterance was by the mouths of a few lowly priests, monks, and friars. Too long was she content to translate from the lordly French; in that language her own old legends, such as those of Havelok and Horn, had been enshrined for more than a hundred years. It was in French, not in English, that Stephen of Canterbury preached and Robert of Lincoln rimed, good home-born patriots though they were. In our island there was no acknowledged Standard of national speech; ever since 1120, each shire had spoken that which was right in its own eyes.[1] It was not until after

[1] Many standard French authors, who lived before 1525, are now commonly reprinted; we reprint for general use two English authors alone, Chaucer and Mallory, of all that wrote before that date.

1400 that all the land to the South of Trent came to acknowledge one Standard, the King's English. The Court at Winchester might have made English the fashion, after the loss of Normandy in 1205; the slightest advance in that path would have been enough. Unhappily, the Court did not take the decisive step; our tongue had to plod on for 150 years longer, before any English King would deign to smile upon her.

She had a dangerous rival on the other side of the Channel. Ever since the year 1200, the French Court and nation had been waxing more powerful than ever before; their influence was felt from the Tay to the Jordan. Pope Gregory IX., in 1239, likened France to the tribe of Judah overtopping all others as regarded valour and piety French knights were in request everywhere: to storm Constantinople, to prop up the falling kingdom of Jerusalem, to champion the Pope's cause in Southern Italy, to root out the heretics of Languedoc, to make head against the German Kaiser, to save England from the ruthless grip of her tyrant, Rome's new vassal. French learning kept well abreast of French prowess. Hundreds of Englishmen went to study at Paris; little comparatively was thought of Oxford or Cambridge scholarship before 1230.[1] French architecture was at this time (1200-1260) pushing its conquests in all directions, as may be seen by any traveller who shall visit Leon in Spain, Casamara in Italy, Cologne in Germany, Westminster in

[1] Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores,
Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores.

England; churches all begun about this time.[1] It was France that taught other countries how to write. Italians such as Martin da Canale at Venice, and Brunetto Latini at Florence, threw aside their own mother-tongue and wrote in French, the best vehicle, as they thought, of polite speech. Rather earlier in the Century, Germany was seeking inspiration from French sources. There are no fewer than three German metrical Romances extant on the tale of Sir Tristrem; Gottfried von Strasburg is careful to tell us that he searched for his theme in books both Latin and *Welsch* (French).[2] Still more did Englishmen, as was natural, turn to France, the marvellous centre that has always had a kind of magnetic attraction for those born without her pale. In Paris seemed to be united, at this particular time, all the learning of Athens and all the valour of Rome. Furthermore, a little later on, it was at Paris that a King ruled, in whose person (so it might well seem to Englishmen) their own Alfred had started once more to life; this foreign King was chosen to make an award, famous in our history, between contending Englishmen. Legends about the mighty Charlemagne, who was fondly imagined to have been a typical Frenchman, were widely spread. From Paris came all the lore, the art, the chivalry, the fashion of the day; something of the same kind may be remarked much later, in 1670.[3] If an English scholar were minded to win a

[1] We still see at Westminster two distinct inroads of French architecture; that of 1060 and that of 1245.

[2] See Scott's *Sir Tristrem*, p. 254.

[3] So in our own day, it is France that supplies the English

name for himself, he had to write either in French or in Latin. There was no Standard English that might be understood alike at Durham and at Exeter; any patriot handling English (a few such there were), translated his short little piece for the *lewd men* of his own neighbourhood, and not for outsiders. Our shires had become intensely local in their speech. The Northern Psalter could never have been aught but a puzzle in Warwickshire; Layamon's Brut must have fallen flat on Lincolnshire ears. When the great Bishop of Lincoln wished to teach the whole of England, he wisely wrote his *Chasteau d'amour* in French; fifty years after his death, it had to be turned into both Northern and Southern English. Yet, for all these French leanings, Bishop Robert was the best of patriots, and could make use of his mother-tongue to shame the greed of Papal underlings, athirst for the good things of England.[1] In the English Legend of St. Edmund the Archbishop, another great Churchman, we find it stated, as if something wonderful, that he uttered a sentence in English on his deathbed. The famous English Proclamation of the year 1258 is plainly the work of some clerk, who tries to imitate the style of the old Charters, and who can only produce stilted stuff that was never spoken; the piece has been compared to the English that a Bengalee, taught in the Government schools, might put forth.

theatre; our playwrights translate (I beg their pardon, *adapt*) French pieces.

[1] Surrexit et confessus est Anglicè &c. See the story in Thomas of Eccleston, *Monumenta Franciscana*; (Master of the Rolls).

It cannot be too often repeated that the disuse of English for sixty years after 1220 was the effect of fashion, not of governmental effort; and this disuse was compatible with sound political feeling. Something of the like kind may be seen in Russia now: the higher classes at St. Petersburgh will speak nothing but French among themselves; yet, let some danger threaten their country, they will show as much public spirit as their neighbours, the uncouth boors, who have never heard of Voltaire. To return to England: one sign of the times was the loss of her old Interjections; for this I account in the following way. The great Lady of the Castle must have been the glass of fashion to all the neighbouring Franklins' wives who might be admitted into her august presence. The worthy women would take as careful heed of Madame's Court phrases as of her dress itself: of her *O*, her *ah*, her *allaz*, her *hei*, her *Deus*, and her *par ma fai*.[1] These charming exclamations, coming with the weightiest authority from such well-bred lips, would speedily put to flight the vulgar old Teutonic *eala*, *walawa*, and such like. The women, humble missionaries of Fashion, would soon din the fine new phrases into the ears of their husbands and children. Of all words, an Interjection is the easiest to pick up and imitate; and we have been always adding to our store of these expletives, from 1160 downwards.[2]

[1] The *O* and *a* may be seen in the *Homilies* of 1160. *A-wellaway*, an ingenious combination, may be seen in the *Essex Homilies*, p. 183.

[2] Miss Martineau tells us in her *Autobiography*, published in 1877, that she was much struck by the peculiar feminine oaths, relics of the Eighteenth Century, uttered by Miss Berry and other ladies

Long before the Conquest, the ladies had discovered that homely Teutonic words could not express the delicate articles by which the feminine mind sets most store. In an English lady's will of 995 we find the foreign words *mentel*, *tuneca*, *cuffian*.[1] In later days, Paris and Rouen became the oracles of the fair sex. These cities supplied articles of dress, wherewith the ladies decked themselves so gaily as to draw down the wrath of the pulpit. One preacher of 1160 goes so far as to call smart clothing 'the Devil's mousetrap;' yellow raiment and *blanchet* (a way of whitening the skin) seem to have been reckoned the most dangerous of snares to womankind, and therefore also to mankind.[2] In the Essex Homilies an onslaught is made upon the Priest's wife and her dress; we hear of 'hire chemise smal and hwit, hire mentel grene, hire nap of mazere.'[3] The Ancren Riwle does not dwell on this topic of dress so much as might have been expected; only a few French articles are there mentioned. A little later, the high-bred dames are thus assailed:

Þeos prude levedies
Þat luvyeþ drywories
And brekeþ spusynge,
For heore lecherye,
Nulleþ here sermonye
Of none gode þinge.

---

born about the same time (Vol. I. 369). I once heard of an Englishman, who had his sons taught to swear in French by a French tutor, hired for that purpose only.

[1] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* VI. 130.

[2] *Homilies*, First Series, p. 53.

[3] *Homilies*, Second Series, p. 163.

Heo drawe þ heore wede,
Mid seolkene þrede
Haced and ibunde.[1]

In the days of Edward I., we find scores of French words, bearing on ladies' way of life, employed by our writers. Many were the articles of luxury that came from abroad; commerce was binding the nations of Christendom together. The English *chapman* and *monger* now withdrew into low life, making way for the more gentlemanly foreigner, the *marchand*; the old *seamer* was replaced by the *tailor*. Half of our trades bear French names; simple hues like *red* and *blue* do well enough for the common folk, but our higher classes must have a wider range of choice; hence come the foreign *scarlet*, *vermilion*, *orange*, *mauve*, and such like.

But other agents of change were at work in the land after 1220. Few of us have an idea of the wonderful revolution brought about in Latin Christendom by the teaching of St. Francis. Two Minorite friars of his Century, the one living in Italy, the other in England, give us a fair notion of the work done by the new Brotherhood, when it first began to run its race. Thomas of Eccleston and Salimbene[2] throw a stronger light upon its budding life than do all the documents published by the learned Wadding in his Annals of the Minorites. Italy may claim the founder; but England may boast that

[1] *Old English Miscellany*, p. 77.

[2] The work of the Englishman is in *Monumenta Franciscana*, published by the Master of the Rolls; that of the Italian is in *Monumenta ad Provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia*, to be found in the British Museum.

she carried out his work, at least for fourscore years after his death, better than any other land in Christendom. It was she that gave him his worthiest disciples; the great English Franciscans, Alexander de Hales, Adam de Marisco, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Occam, were unequalled by any of their brethren abroad, with the two exceptions of Buonaventura and Lulli. Some of these men sought the mainland, while others taught in their school at Oxford; under the new guidance the rising University shot up with giant's growth, and speedily outdid her old rival on the Seine. The great Robert himself (he was not as yet known as Lincolniensis) lectured before the brethren at Oxford. English friars, being patterns of holiness, were held in the highest esteem abroad; when reading Salimbene's work, we meet them in all kinds of unlikely places throughout Italy and France: they crowded over the sea to hear their great countryman Hales at Paris, or to take a leading part in the Chapters held at Rome and Assisi. The gift of wisdom, we are told, overflowed in the English province.

It was a many-sided Brotherhood, being always in contact with the learned, with the wealthy, and with the needy alike. The English Friar was equally at home in the school, in the bower, in the hovel. He could speak more than one tongue, thanks to the training bestowed upon him. We may imagine his every-day life: he spends his morning in drawing up a Latin letter to be sent to the General Minister at Oxford or Paris, and he writes much as Adam de Marisco did. The friar of this age has no need to fear the tongue of scandal; so in the afternoon he visits the Lady of the Castle, whose dearest

wish is that she may atone for the little weaknesses of life by laying her bones in the nearest Franciscan Church, mean and lowly though it be in these early days. He tells her the last tidings from Queen Eleanor's Court, points a moral with one of the new Lays of Marie, and lifts up his voice against the sad freaks played by fashion in ladies' dress. Their talk is of course in French; but the friar, having studied at Paris, remarks to himself that his fair friend's speech sounds somewhat provincial; and more than a hundred years later we are to hear of the school of Stratford-atte-Bowe. In the evening, he goes to the neighbouring hamlet, and holds forth on the green to a throng of horny-handed churls, stalwart swinkers and toilers, men who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. They greedily listen when addressed in the uncouth English of their shire, English barely understood fifty miles off. Such burning words they never hear from their parish-priest, one of the old school. The friar's sermon is full of proverbs, tales, and historical examples, all tending to the improvement of morals.[1]

A new link, as we see, was thus forged to bind all classes together in godly fellowship; nothing like this Franciscan movement had been known in our island for six hundred years. The Old was being replaced by the New; a preacher would suit his tales to his listeners: they cared not to hear about hinds or hus-

[1] This last sentence I take from Salimbene, who describes the new style of preaching practised by the friars his brethren. Italy and England must have been much alike in the Thirteenth Century in this respect.

bandmen, but about their betters.[1] He would therefore talk about ladies, knights, or statesmen; and when discoursing about these, he must have been almost driven to interlard his English with a few French words, such as were constantly employed by his friends of the higher class. As a man of learning, he would begin to look down upon the phrases of his childhood as somewhat coarse, and his lowly hearers rather liked a term now and then that soared a little above their understanding: what is called 'fine language' has unhappily always had charms for most Englishmen. It would be relished by burghers even more than by peasants. Many free men must have known French as well as English. The preacher may sometimes have translated for his flock's behoof, talking of '*grith* or *pais*, *rood* or *croiz*, *steven* or *voiz*, *lof* or *praise*, *swikeldom* or *tricherie*, *stead* or *place*.'[2] As years went on, and as men more and more aped their

[1] Our humbler classes now prefer the fictitious adventures of some wicked Marquis to all the sayings and doings of Mrs. Gamp or Mrs. Poyser.

[2] I take the following sketch from *Middlemarch*, III. 156 (published in 1872):—

'Mr. Trumbull, the auctioneer . . . was an amateur of superior phrases, and never used poor language without immediately correcting himself. "Anybody may ask," says he, "anybody may interrogate. Any one may give their remarks an interrogative turn." He calls *Ivanhoe* "a very superior publication, it commences well." Things never *began* with Mr. Trumbull; they always *commenced*, both in private life and on his handbills; "I hope some one will tell me—I hope some individual will apprise me of the fact."'

Many of our early Franciscans must have been akin to Mr. Trumbull. Our modern penny-a-liners would say that the worthy auctioneer was a master of English, and a better guide to follow than Bunyan or Defoe.

betters, the French words would drive out the Old English words; and the latter class would linger only in the mouths of upland folk, where a keen antiquary may find some of them still. The clergy were the one class that wrote for the people; they could therefore make our Literature whatever they chose. So mighty was the spell at work, that in the Fourteenth Century French words found their way into even the Lord's Prayer and the Belief; the last strongholds, it might be thought, of pure English. It was one of the signs of the times that the old *boda* made way for the new *prechur;*[1] *prayer* and *praise* both come from France.[2]

But the influence of the friars upon our speech was not altogether for evil. St. Francis, it is well known, was one of the first fathers of the New Italian; a friar of his Order, Thomas of Hales, wrote what seems to me the best poem of two hundred lines produced in English before Chaucer.[3] This 'Luve ron,' addressed to a nun about 1250, shows a hearty earnestness, a flowing diction, and a wonderful command of rime; it has not a score of lines (these bear too hard on wedlock) that might not have been written by a pious Protestant. Hardly any French words are found here, but the names of a string of jewels. English poets had hitherto made

[1] How often does the word *predicai* (prædicavi) occur in the journal of the Franciscan, who afterwards became Sixtus V.!

[2] Krasinski tells us, that when the Jesuits began to sway education in Poland, the language was soon corrupted by a barbarous mixture of Latin phrases.—*Reformation in Poland*, II. 202.

[3] *Old English Miscellany*, p. 93, (Early English Text Society). Dr. Morris thinks that the friar wrote in Latin, which was afterwards Englished.

but little use of the Virgin Mary as a theme. But her worship was one of the great badges of the Franciscan Order; and from 1220 onward she inspired many an English Maker. However wrong it might be theologically, the new devotion was the most poetical of all rites; the dullest monk is kindled with unwonted fire when he sets forth the glories of the Maiden Mother. To her Chaucer and Dunbar have offered some of their most glowing verse.

The second copy of Layamon's Brut was written, it is thought, about 1260. Scores of old words set down fifty years earlier in the first copy of 1205 had now become strange in the ears of Englishmen; these words are therefore dropped altogether. Some French words, unknown to Layamon, are found in this second copy.

We have an opportunity of comparing the Old and the New school of English teachers, as they stood in the Middle of this Century. We find one poem, written shortly before 1250, about the time that Archbishop Edmund was canonized: this must have been composed by a churchman of the good old St. Albans' pattern, a preacher of righteousness after Brother Matthew's own heart. The rimer casts no wistful glance abroad, but appeals to English saints and none others; he strikes hard at Rome in a way that would have shocked good Franciscans. He may have been a patriot, zealous for the old tongue: for he is an exception to the common rule; the proportion of English words, now obsolete, in his lines is as great as in those of Orrmin fifty years earlier.[1] Most different is another Poem, written

[1] *Old English Miscellany*, p. 89.

in a manuscript not later than 1260. The Maker may well have been a Franciscan; he pours out his wrath on priests' wives and on parsons; he handles the sins of Jankin and Malkin in most homely wise. He has some French words that he need not have employed, such as *sire* and *dame* instead of *father* and *mother*; his proportion of obsolete English is far less than that which we see in the lines of his brother-poet.[1] I suspect that the Ancren Riwle (it still exists in many copies) must have been a model most popular among the friars, who perhaps did much to bring into vogue the French words with which it swarms.

Long before the friars had fairly buckled to their work in England, a great change connected with our baptismal font had taken place. The old national Christian names had died out soon after 1066, and had been replaced by French names; boys and girls alike received newfangled appellations. Proper names are the words most of all under Fashion's sway. Here and there parents might hold to the name of the special patron of their shire, as Northumbria to St. Cuthbert, the West Midland to St. Chad, East Anglia to St. Edmund, and all England to St. Edward. Still, allowing for these exceptions, there was a general craving after Norman names; the Teutonic father was always giving his equally Teutonic son a fine French name; and this holds true even of villeins. We came across *Willekin* and *Robekin* in 1190. When the author of the Ancren Riwle wishes to forbid the divulging of the names of

[1] *Old English Miscellany*, p. 186.

particular sinners in shrift, he writes, 'you need not say *Willam* or *Water*' (Walter), p. 340. When a teacher thirty years later wishes to brand the sins of young men and maidens in general, he talks of *Robin* and *Gilot*; Jack and Gill were to come long afterwards.[1] Robert of Brunne has occasion to mention names that may be given in baptism; he at once refers to 'Robert, Willyam, and Joun.' (Handlyng Synne, p. 297.)

Matthew Paris is a name dear to all true-hearted Englishmen; but we should have set the good monk upon a still higher pinnacle had he only trodden in the footsteps of the earlier Peterborough Chronicler and written in English. Down to 1220, the clergy had fostered our earliest Literature with earnest care; after that time, with few exceptions, they seemed to throw it aside or to corrupt it. Of all the agents that wrought the great change in our speech, between 1220 and 1280, the friars, I suspect, were the class most mighty for evil. Law, learning, fashion, and chivalry are topics confined to the upper classes; but religion comes home to all men alike, to high and to low. Hence, when the Old English theological terms were dropped, the worst kind of mischief was done. We see something of this evil in our Bible at this day; the Gospels and most parts of the Old Testament are readily understood over all the land, for they deal with every-day life. But the Epistles abound in deep theological terms, which repel rather than attract

[1] These names have replaced the old typical names for the sexes in England, Godric and Godgifu. See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V. 562. Our *jilt*, I believe, has been derived from Gilot. We know our common 'every man Jack of them;' see Gower, II, 393,

the common folk. Here Wickliffe and Tyndale, when they translated the Scriptures, could not help themselves; they were driven to use Latin terms, such as *sanctification* and *regeneration*, owing to the evil anti-national influence which had been at work in the Thirteenth Century long before their day. A poor man, unless he knows Latin, cannot understand the full force of the word *Redeemer*; but the old word *Againbuyer* explained itself. Such a word as *propitiation* must be an utter puzzle to the great mass of Englishmen; even though something like it appeared in the Cursor Mundi, so early as 1290. In our day, if writers on religion would be popular, they must be like Mr. Ryle, intensely Teutonic. An English word, that is understood by high and low alike, must take higher rank than an English word that commends itself to none but Latin scholars; *overlying* and *outcast* stand high above *superincumbent* and *eliminated*. The lovers of the Newfangled may talk as they list, but they will never convince us that England was not wounded in the tenderest point of all, during the Thirteenth Century; that age so righteously revered by the statesman and the architect, so accursed in the eyes of the philologer.

There is yet another way in which we can measure the harm done in this Black Century. Villehardouin and Layamon were dictating or writing much about the same time, soon after the year 1200. Any fairly well educated English lady will now understand the old Marshal of Champagne with the greatest ease, after a little practice; but the Worcestershire priest, though her own countryman, will be a standing puzzle to her,

unless she already knows something of Old English.[1] The reason for all this is plain: France has always had the good sense to hold fast to her old tongue, and not to follow foreign fashions; in her literature there has never been any ugly gap since 1100. Silly England, for sixty disastrous years, threw aside her own home-bred speech, and thought of nothing but Parisian ways. In our day, a translation is always supplied for all English works written before the year 1220; after that year a few notes are all that is judged needful for learners.

About 1160, our inflections were rapidly vanishing from written English, at least in the Dano-Anglian country; in Kent, many of them lingered on down to 1340, and traces of them may be found in Somerset and Dorset at this day. One effect of the Conquest was, that the writing of Chronicles was no longer in the hands of learned men, but was given over to peasants. The Peterborough Chronicle of 1160 answers to what an Umbrian monk or peasant might now achieve, if he had a slight smattering of Latin lore and essayed to imitate Cicero. The preservation or loss of inflections is the great mark, whether a language be Old or New. Of the three great changes in written English, the loss of Inflections (at least in books) dates from 1160; the loss of the power of Compounding dates from 1200 in the East Midland, which was to set the fashion to the whole land; the wholesale rush of new French words into our tongue dates from 1280.[2] I may

[1] Any English writer of 1300 would have been puzzled, almost as much as my imaginary lady, by Layamon's poem.

[2] The *Ancren Riwle* abounds in French words; but it was not imitated for sixty years, in this respect.

well call the whole of this period, embracing these three dates, Middle English; it differs alike from what went before, and from what was to come later. A prose piece of 1120 is nearer to King Alfred than to an East Midland piece of 1160; an East Midland piece of 1303 is nearer to what is written under Queen Victoria than to what was written in 1250.

But the worst blow of all, inflicted by the sixty years of disaster, is the all but entire loss of the Old English power of compounding. We need not sigh over our lost Inflections; they were waning away in the East Midland so early as 1160, as we see in the Chronicle; and the more part must have gone, sooner or later, even had Harold conquered at Hastings. Owing to their departure, our speech is now the most easy and flexible in the whole world. But the loss of the power of compounding is a very different thing. This power is the truest token of life in languages. It was found in the Ormulum as much as in the Ancren Riwle, in the Dano-Anglian country as well as in the Saxon shires. But in the first thirty years of the Thirteenth Century, in the East Midland shires that have ruled our New English, we may remark a distaste for words compounded with Prepositions; they become scarcer and scarcer, though we have kept to this day some Verbs which have *fore*, *out*, *over*, and *under* prefixed.[1] This I have already remarked. What a noble instrument of thought and speech is the Greek, where every shade of meaning can be expressed by simply prefixing a Preposition to some root!

[1] We sometimes even prefix these to Romance words, as *fore-ordain*, *out-general*, *over-balance*, and *under-mine*.

Nothing can make amends for England's loss in this respect. We have now to borrow from the French or Latin brick-kiln, instead of hewing stones out of our own quarry. How stands the matter? A youth has his right arm shot off; it is replaced by a fine piece of French mechanism; yet we are told by some wiseacres that any regret for the loss of the kindly old limb is a token of Retrogressive Barbarism. But a remnant of our old faculty is left to us. We have still kept, in some measure, the power of compounding with the weightier parts of speech; though here Participles are more employed than Substantives; we may talk of *horse-feeding* Argos, but not of *fair-womaned* Achaia. When Shakespere speaks of *fiery-footed* steeds, we see at once that he is possessed of a noble power of striking off new words, a power that was denied to Dante and Corneille. English poets should stir up this gift, and should never weary of bestowing upon us new and happy compounds. The bards of our day set a worthy example, which should be followed by prose-writers.

We must weigh the proportion of obsolete Teutonic words, found in English writers of the Three Periods into which we have divided the Thirteenth Century. Experiments should be made, by taking a passage in each author's usual style, containing fifty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs. In such a passage, written between 1200 and 1220, ten or nine words will be found to be now obsolete; in such a passage, written between 1220 and 1280, from eight to four words will be obsolete; in such a passage, written between 1280 and 1300, the

obsolete Teutonic will comprise only four or three words.[1]

Our store of homespun terms, as we see, was being more and more narrowed. Compare Layamon's Brut with Robert of Gloucester's Poem; we are at once astounded at the loss in 1300 of crowds of good old English words, though both writers were translating the same French lines. It is much the same in the language of religion, as we see by comparing the Ancren Riwle with the Kentish Sermons of 1290, published by Dr. Morris. One seventh of the Teutonic words used here in 1200 seems to have altogether dropped out of written composition by the year 1290: about this fact there can be no dispute. In the lifetime of Henry the Third, far more harm was done to our speech than in the six hundred years that have followed his death.

I now approach the Third Period of Middle English, reaching from 1280 to 1303; which I have called the Time of Reparation by translators. In the sixty years before 1280, the ugliest gap in the whole of our literature from Hengist down to Victoria, a vast multitude of English words had vanished for ever; the power of compounding was all but gone. But about 1280, a sudden turn of fortune directed the eyes of all true Englishmen once more to their mother-tongue, which had been of late so shamefully neglected. One long original poem, and but one, that of the Owl and Nightingale, had been put forth since 1220;[2] besides this, there had been some translations, mostly religious, from French and Latin;

[1] See my Tables at p. 587.

[2] At least, it is the only one that has come down to us.

these had been few and far between. At length, about 1280, men began to set themselves steadily to translate long poems from the French, such as the Havelok, the Tristrem, the Cursor Mundi, the Lives of the Saints, the French Poems on the History of England, the Alexander, the Manuel des Pechés, the Chasteau d'Amour. Translations were better than nothing at all. From 1280 to our own day, English Literature has been thoroughly well cultivated. About 1320, England took a further step in advance; she began to put forth long original Poems of her own; soon afterwards Hampole, Minot, and the author of Piers Ploughman, fell to work. Both before 1220, and after 1280, works in English abound; the interval between 1220 and 1280, it should be well understood, was the black gulf of ruin. The wonder is, that any one should have taken the trouble of modernising Layamon's Poem at that particular time, when, as Lord Castlereagh would have said, English Literature seemed to be turning her back upon herself. The few men who wrought at English in those evil days should be regarded as respectfully as that handful of patriots, who kept up true English feeling in the score of years after Charles the Second's return home.

Edward the First, whatever he might have been in his youth, turned out a truly national King; and what we owe to him is known far and wide. One thing, however, was wanting to his glory: he never made English the language of his Court, though he affected to fear that his wily foe at Paris was plotting to wipe out this despised speech. It was not until long after Edward's death that our language could win Royal

favour. In his reign most letters were written, not in Latin, but in French. He loved chivalry, tournaments, and single combats; he had a high idea of French refinement, and this doubtless tended to throw back our speech. The courtly tongue drove all before it. For instance, a word like *epeling* (princeps) was well understood in 1240; sixty years later, its meaning had to be explained to Englishmen.[1] Still, with every possible abatement, Edward's reign is every whit as great a landmark in English Philology as in English Constitutional History. Now it was that the great rush of French words came into our tongue; we cannot call it 'an ugly rush,' when we think of the gaps that had to be filled up. Any one that reads the Cursor Mundi, the Becket Legend, the Alexander, or the Handlyng Synne, will throw aside all his early ideas about Chaucer, who was long falsely supposed to have been the great corrupter of English. So much sound Teutonic stuff had been lost before 1280, that vast repairs had to be undertaken, if our language thenceforward was to be copious. French was not needed in 1220; it was badly wanted in 1280. One evil resulted, that we grew careless of our old national endings, the *lic*, the *dom*, the *sum*, the *isc*, and others; and we ceased in a great measure to attach them to Teutonic roots, since we had always French synonyms ready at hand.[2] Furthermore, the evil habits of Henry

[1] See the *Old English Miscellany*, p. 106; and then compare *Robert of Gloucester*, p. 354.

[2] We may still talk of *folk*, but we cannot employ *folclic*, *folcisc*, and many other words derived from that root. Hence it is that we

the Third's reign could not at once be shaken off; there was a gradual loss of old words, even under Edward the First. In 1280, the proportion of Teutonic Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs, now obsolete, is four out of fifty; in 1290, it is but three out of fifty. About the latter year a firm check seems to have been given to careless dealing with old words; comparatively few of them thenceforward were lost. The New English, as we know it, was now all but formed in the East Midland shires. Its loss of inflections, its neglect of the old power of compounding, and its substitution of French words for Teutonic terms, the three main changes in our speech, all these tendencies were as evident in 1280 as they are six hundred years later. Edward did not encourage English; hence it came that our Standard speech sprang up, not at his Court, but in cloisters on the Nen and the Welland. Still, Edward's reign was a time when all classes were drawing nearer to each other. The ballad on Lewes fight, in which a few French terms are used, seemed to bear witness to the union of the high and the low. The long political struggle of the Thirteenth Century knit all true men together, whether they spoke French or English. From Edward's time dates the revival of the glories of England's host, which has seldom since allowed thirty years to pass without some doughty deed of arms, achieved beyond our borders; for there were but few quarrels at home henceforward. Now it was, as I said before, that a number of warlike French

use *national*, and hence *nation* has encroached upon *folk*. Hundreds of other good old Teutonic words are in this plight.

romances were Englished. The word *adventure*, brought from France, was as well known in England as in Germany.[1] Our *per aventure*, having been built into the English Bible centuries later, is likely to last. Old Teutonic words made way for the outlandish terms *glory, renown, victory, army, host, champion.* England was becoming, under her great Edward, the most united of all Christian kingdoms; the yeomen who tamed Wales and strove hard to conquer Scotland looked with respect upon the high-born circle standing next to the King. What was more, the respect was returned by the nobles: we have seen the tale of the Norfolk farmer at page 471; and this, I suspect, could hardly have happened out of England. France has always been the country that has given us our words for soldiering: from the word *castel*, used as a military word in 1048, to the word *mitrailleuse*, brought over in 1870. Englishmen of old could do little in war but sway the weighty axe or form the shield-wall under the eye of such Kings as Ironside or Godwine's son; it was France that taught us how to ply the mangonel and trebuchet. We have always been a warlike, but never a military nation.[2]

[1] Our word *adventurer* seems to be sinking in the mire. A lady told me not long ago that she thought it unkind in Sir Walter Scott to call Prince Charles Edward 'the young Adventurer.' Thus, what but sixty years ago described a daring knight, now conveys to some minds the idea of a scheming knave. It is a bad sign for a nation, when words that were once noble are saddled with a base meaning. We should bestow some attention on the changed meanings of the Italian *pœnitentia* and *virtus*.

[2] The Editor of *Sir John Burgoyne's Life*, in 1873, complains of the poverty of the English military vocabulary, when he talks of a

The knights were, moreover, the great patrons of Heraldry, which is altogether French in its diction; it was an object of interest to all who laid any claim to *nurture*; the *lion couchant, or, argent*, &c., must have been in the mouths of every low-born man who aspired to gentility, and tried back for a family. The French poem on King Edward's siege of Carlaverock bears witness to the cultivation bestowed on this science in England.[1]

The nobles long clave to the French: I have already quoted Robert of Gloucester's lines about England's high men speaking one tongue in 1300, while her low men spoke another. After 1307, Piers of Bridlington compiled in French his long Chronicle of English history. In 1310 Master Rauf de Boun compiled another Chronicle in French, at the request of the Earl of Lincoln. About 1332, a prose Chronicle, also in

coup de main and an *attaque brusquée*, Vol. II. 346. Even so late as 1642, we were forced to call in French and German engineers, at the outbreak of the Civil Wars. I am sorry to see that the rank of *Cornet* Joyce and *Ensign* Northerton has been swept away; we are henceforward to talk of *sub-lieutenants*. Why should English History and Literature be so mauled?

[1] When describing war, even poetry must use French words; as in Byron's piece, that begins thus:

> '*Warriors* and *chiefs*, should the shaft or the sword
> *Pierce* me when leading the *host* of the Lord.'

Our naval terms are very different from this. But not long ago, I saw the *crew* (as Nelson called it) described by the British penny-a-liner as the '*personnel* of a vessel.' Our seamen were of yore stout heart and sound of limb; they are now said to be 'conspicuous of for their *morale* and *physique*.' *Hæc ego non agitem?*

French, was put forth, and was called 'The Brute;' of this many copies still exist.[1] The Scala Cronica was drawn up in French prose by an English knight, about 1362. Still later, the courtly poet Gower made his first attempts in French, and most of the letters of Henry the Fourth are written in this language. Many of the Guilds all over the land drew up their laws in French; as was done at Bristol in 1416.[2] There is a French poem on the death of York, the father of Edward the Fourth, in 1461. The fashionable tongue was hard of dying in our land.

For many years did French and English run on side by side. I have already remarked on what we owe to the collectors of the literature of the day. Of these, the most praiseworthy of all are the scribes that flourished in the Evil Sixty Years, the men that drew up the Cotton Manuscript about 1240, the Jesus Manuscript about 1260, not to mention Layamon's second transcriber. Between 1290 and 1440 some well-known English manuscripts were compiled: the Digby, Laud, Ashmole, Harleian, Auchinleck, Vernon, and Thornton compilations are famous names. I would here call attention to the Harleian Manuscript, drawn up rather before 1320. The compiler travels over the foregoing sixty years, and sets down Latin, French, and English poems alike with impartial pen. In some of these works the three vehicles of English literature jostle each other. Thus we have a Hymn to the Virgin:

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[1] See Mr. Skeat's Preface to the *Havelok*, vi. xiii.

[2] *English Gilds* (Early English Text Society), p. 286.

Mayden moder milde,
oiez cel oreysoun,
From shome thou me shilde,
e de ly malfeloun.
For love of thine childe,
me menez de tresoun.
Ich wes wod and wilde,
ore su en prisoun.[1]

A lady of more earthly mould is thus described:

Ele est si bele et gente dame *egregia,*
Cum ele fust *imperatoris filia*
De beal semblant et *pulcra continencia*
Ele est la flur *in omni regis curia.*

Indeed, it seemed as if no English bard could do fair justice to a lady's charms, without a copious sprinkling of words drawn from the fashionable language of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. I take the following from the same Harleian Manuscript; *heo* is what we now call *she*:—

Heo is dereworthe in day,
*Gracious*e, stout, and *gay,*

---

[1] *Lyric Poems* (Percy Society), pp. 97, 65. Another manuscript (*Old English Miscellany*, 194) has the following:

Of on þat is so fayr and brigt,
velud maris stella,
Brigter þan þe day-is ligt,
parens et puella,
Ich crie to þe, þou se to me,
Levedi, prey þi sone for me,
tam pia,
þat ic mote come to þe,
Maria!

Gentil, jolyf so the *jay*

. . . .

Heo is *coral* of godnesse,
Heo is *rubie* of rihtfulnesse,
Heo is *cristal* of clannesse,
Ant *baner* of *bealté.*
Heo is *lilie* of *largesse,*
Heo is *parvenke* of *prouesse,*
Heo is solsecle of swetnesse,
Ant ledy of *lealté.*[1]

The same Frenchified style is applied to the description of the feasts and the amusements of these fair ladies and their lords; we read as follows, in the Havelok of the year 1280. The *beneysun* is said, and then the guests see before them

Kranes, swannes, veneysun,
Lax, lampreys, and god sturgun,
Pyment to drinke, and god clare,
Win hwit and red, ful god plente.

. . . . . .

Of þe metes bidde I not dwelle,
Þat is þe storie for to lenge,
It wolde anuye þis fayre genge.

Afterwards, men might see

Þe moste joie þat mouhte be.

. . . .

Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,
Romanz reding on þe bok,
Þer mouthe men here þe gestes singe,
Þe gleymen on þe tabour dinge.[2]

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[1] *Lyric Poetry*, p. 52. [2] Pp. 47, 65.

The old *hwistlere* now began to be called a *minstrel*. The singers of *gestes*, since 1220, had followed French rime, and had forsaken the Old English alliterative rhythm. In a poem of about 1230, sixteen lines running end in the sound *ede* or *eden*; this is clearly an English imitation of one of the poetical effects, upon which the French bards prided themselves, as is well known. In the Havelok, fifty years later, nineteen lines end in the same sound *ede*; lines 87–105. A vast number of French words must have been brought in by translators, simply to help themselves to a rime; thus, in the Horn of 1280:

> þe stones beoþ of suche grace,
> þat þu ne schalt in none place, &c.—P. 17.
>
> . . . .
>
> þe knigtes ȝeden to table
> and Horne ȝede to stable.—P. 17.
>
> . . . .
>
> hi gonne me assaile,
> mi sword me nolde faille.—P. 18.

It is the same in the Floriz and Blancheflur, of the same date:—

> þe porter is culvert and felun,
> forþ he wule setten his resun,
> and bere upon þe felonie,
> and segge þat þu art a spie.—P. 60.

We further read in this poem:—

> þanne sede þe burgeis,
> þat was wel hende and curtais.

Leaving the Minstrels, we pass on to other ministers to the pleasures of the great. The Tristrem, translated about 1280, abounds in words of hunting; in pages 33

and 34, we learn all the technical names for the parts of a stag, when cut up; in p. 165 we hear of the *bowaire* knight, who bides *repaire* in the *forest*, who began *chaci* an hart, and blew *priis*. Our *sire* and *dam*, now confined to horses, are a relic of this age; also a *brace* of birds. In 1280, it is hopeless to expect anything but French when the amusements of noblemen are set forth; in p. 170 of the Tristrem comes this stanza:

So it befel acas,
In Seyn Matheus toun,
That a fair fest was,
Of lordes of renoun:
A baroun that hight Bonifas
Spoused a levedi of Lyoun;
Ther was miche solas,
Of al maner soun,
And gle;
Of minstrals up and doun,
Bifor the folk so fre.[1]

The technical terms of games of chance, like Chaucer's *cink* and *treye*, belong to the French-speaking class.[2]

Cookery is a science that has always commanded the attention of the great; indeed, it was as important a business in their eyes as war or hunting. Several of the French words used in this art may be read in the Lay of Havelok, who himself served for some time as a swiller of dishes: we here find *pastees*, *wastels*, *veneysun*, and many other terms of the craft; our common *roast*, *boil*,

[1] Contrast this with the intense Teutonism of Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Morris when riming 600 years later.

[2] Our *trey* keeps more to the true old Vowel sound than the modern French *trois*, just as our *deuce* preserves the old sound of *deux*.

fry, broil, toast, grease, brawn, larder, bear witness as to which race it was that had the control of the kitchen.

We have spoken of the Lady, the Knight, and the Friar; we now come to the Lawyer.[1] The whole of the government was long in the hands of the French-speaking class. Henry the Second, the great organiser of English law, was a thorough Frenchman, who lived in our island as little as he could; the tribunals were in his time reformed; and the law terms, with which Blackstone abounds (*peine forte et dure*, for instance), are the bequest of this age. The Roman law had been studied at Oxford even before Henry had begun to reign; and *Canceller* was one of the earliest foreign words that came in. The Legend of St. Thomas, drawn up about 1300, swarms with French words when the Constitutions of Clarendon are described; and a Charter of King Athelstane's, turned into the English spoken rather earlier, shows how many of our own old law terms had by that time been supplanted by foreign ware.[2] Our barristers still keep the old French pronunciation of their technical word *recórd*; the *oyez* of our courts is well known; when we talk of an *heir male*, we use a French construction; we do not *begin*, but *commence* an action at law. A bard of 1220, ('Old English Miscellany,' p. 76)

[1] Those who administered the law were either churchmen or knights.

[2] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* V. 235. We here find *grantye, confirmye*, and *custumes*. We are therefore not surprised to learn, that few or none in 1745 could explain the old English law terms in the Baron of Bradwardine's Charter of 1140, 'saca et soca, et thol et theam, et infangthief et outfangthief, sive hand-habend, sive bak-barand;' these had made way for French terms.

sets before us the *playdurs*, so keen in their red and green garb, men who give unright dooms; for this they will suffer in the next world. We get another picture of the lawyers in 1280; there is the old fellow, who is the best *sire*; his clerkes, who pink with pen upon parchment, while they *breve* a man. Then there are *somenours* (hence the proper name Sumner), who are the plague of the parish; priests come to the County Court and boast of their *privilegie* from the Pope. Evil deeds are done at the *chapitre* and the *constory*; this is the writer's experience, 'seththen y *pleide* at bisshopes *plee*.'[1]

In the Floriz, of the same date, we hear about—

> Felons inome hond-habbing
> For to suffre jugement,
> Biþute answere oþer acupement.—P. 70.

The stately word *Parliament* is French, while *King* is Teutonic. The same rivalry may be seen in *Lords* and *Commons*, *knights* of the *shire* and *burgesses*, *aldermen* and *mayor*, *borough* and *city*. Since 1660, French has replaced Latin as the general language of diplomacy, and has therefore given us many new words and idioms, that would have astonished Bossuet as much as Dryden.

We must now return to the clergy, who did not confine themselves to preaching; all the lore of the day was lodged in their hands. Roger Bacon's life sets before us the bold way in which some of them pried into the secrets of Nature. One of the means by which

[1] *Political Songs* (Wright), pp. 156–159. Is there a pun here on the English *play* and the French *plaider*?

they drew to themselves the love of the common folk was the practice of medicine; in the friars the leper found his only friends. To these early forefathers of our leechcraft we owe a further change in our tongue. There are many English words for sundry parts and functions of the human frame, words that no well-bred man can use; custom has ruled that we must employ Latin synonyms. The first example I remember of this delicacy (it ought not to be called mawkishness) is in Robert of Gloucester, writing about 1300. When describing the tortures inflicted by King John on his subjects in 1216, and the death of the Earl Marshal on an Irish field in 1234, the old rimer uses terms borrowed from the French that he was translating, instead of certain English words that would jar upon our taste.[1] But a leech who flourished eighty years after Robert's time is far more plain-spoken, when describing his cures, made at Newark and London.[2] Indeed, he is as

[1] On this head there is a great difference between Germany and England. Teutonic words that no well bred Englishman could use before a woman may be printed by grave German historians. See Von Raumer's account of the siege of Viterbo in 1243, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.* Of course I know that this does not prove Germans to be one whit more indelicate than Englishmen; custom is everything.

[2] John Arderne's Account of himself, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I. 191. Charles II. was the best bred Englishman of his time, yet he writes to his sister:—'Poor O'Nial died this afternoon of an ulcer in his *guts*.'—*Curry's Civil Wars in Ireland*, I. 308. So swiftly does fashion change! The amusing *Life of the Rev. P. Skelton* was published so late as 1792 by a worthy Irish clergyman; still, this contains many phrases at which our more squeamish age would cry out. Boswell used a term struck out by Croker forty years afterwards.

little mealy-mouthed as Orrmin himself. It was not, however, until very late times that *perspiration* replaced in polite speech the English word akin to the Sanscrit *svêda*, or that *belly* was thought to be coarser than *stomach*.

The leeches, like the lawyers, knew very well what they were about when they couched the diction of their respective crafts in French or Latin, far removed from vulgar ken. A sad picture is drawn in the Cursor Mundi, about 1290, of the diseases of King Herod:—

Þe parlesi (palsy) has his a[a] side. [a] one
. . . . .
In his heved he has þe scall,
Þe scab overgas his bodi all.
. . . . .
Wit þe crache him tok þe scurf,
Þe fester thrild his bodi thurgh,
Þe gutte (gout) þe potagre es il to bete,[b] [b] mend
It fell al dun intil his fete.
Over al þan was he mesel[c] plain, [c] leper
And þarwit had fever quartain;
'Ydropsi held him sua in threst.[1]

So early as 1220, we read of the *desputinge of scolemaistres* in the Legend of St. Katherine. The best English scientific treatise of this Century is 'The Pit of Hell,' printed by Mr. Wright; it deals with the shaping of the human frame. It is strange to contrast

[1] *Cursor Mundi*, p. 678. As to the last evil, *ydropsi*, Ælfric had called it *water-sickness*, when describing the same event. I may remark, that the common folk always talk of a *doctor*, but would be puzzled by the word *leech*, used by Scott and Byron. This is one of the few instances in which a Teutonic word commends itself more to the high than to the low.

the diction found here with the obsolete English of a treatise on Astronomy, put forth three hundred years earlier, and printed in the same book of Mr. Wright's. A Poem by the author of the 'Pit of Hell' gives us a peep into Oxford life in the days of St. Edmund the Archbishop; we are first told, that he forgat not his *oreisoun* for no *studie*, ne for þoȝt of *lessoun*; he soon undertook arithmetic, though he was not a Cambridge man:—

Of art he radde six ȝer continuelliche ynouȝ.
And siþþe, for þeo more profound, to arsmetrike he drouȝ,
And arsmetrike radde in cours, in Oxenford wel faste,
And his figours drouȝ al dai, and his numbre caste.
Arsmetrike is a lore þat of figours al is,
And of drauȝtes as me draweþ in poudre and in numbre iwis.[1]

Ælfric had employed some Latin terms in his day, but he would have been astonished at the number of these that were flowing in, could he have come to life again about the year 1300. Science in our land has always held fast to foreign words. The Old English *hygge* (mens) had given birth to many compounds; none of these seem to have outlived Layamon's day. Science spurned the Teutonic and clung fast to the French and Latin. We are even driven to borrow the French *savant*, to express 'a man of lore' in one word.[2] A

[1] *Life of St. Edmund* (Philological Society), pp. 76, 77.

[2] When the *savants* unbend in the evening, after a Congress, they go to a *Conversazione*. Nothing proves the utter barrenness of English social life more than the fact, that we have had to borrow this Italian word.

Social Science Congress would shudder if *anthropology* or *biology* were to be Teutonized. We now find it pretty easy to understand the Chronicle or the Gospels of the year 1000; while King Alfred's Translation of the Pastoral Care is stiff reading indeed. This is because the changes wrought in the Thirteenth Century were peculiarly hostile to the Old English terms employed in philosophy and deep theology.[1]

Architecture was another craft in which the clergy took the lead; Alan de Walsingham by no means stood alone.[2] English words were well enough when a cot or a farm-house was in hand; but for the building of a

[1] It would be easy, I think, in our day to write a book on Metaphysics, wherein there should not be one Teutonic Noun or Verb, except *am*, *is*, *shall*, and such like. But it is hard to see why Natural History should resort to foreign terms, which seem chosen on purpose to confine this study to those who know Latin and Greek. A child in the National schools repeats like a parrot words like *rodents* and *graminivorous*; he would at once attach a clear idea to *gnawers* and *grass-eating*. Our beautiful old English names of plants and flowers have been supplanted by Latin words; *arboriculture* is one of our latest gems. Any man, who would Teutonize the name-system of certain sciences, would play the part of a sound English patriot. We have made a beginning; compare the plain-spoken works on *English History*, which are now selling by thousands, with the bombastic stuff that was in vogue twenty years ago. The prig and the pedant wail over the change; but our nation, taken as a whole, is much benefitted. Why should not other branches of knowledge be promoted to the level of History? I have seen it remarked that children are no fools, but that their teachers very often are fools. Dickens, in one of his works, draws a good sketch of Mr. Macchokemchild, an inspector of schools.

[2] The clergy were also great engineers in war, as we read in the accounts of the Crusades against the Albigenses and Eccelin da Romano. The renowned Chillingworth wanted to play the same part at the siege of Gloucester in 1643.

castle or a cathedral, scores of French technical words had to be called in: at Canterbury, William the Englishman doubtless employed much the same diction as his predecessor, William of Sens. Indeed, the new style of building, brought from France more than a hundred years before the time of these worthies, must have unfolded many a new term of art to King Edward's masons at Westminster. The *upflor* of Glastonbury Church, which beheld a mournful scene soon after the Conquest, has long since taken the name of *triforium*. In our own day, the great revival of Architecture has led to a wonderful enlargement of diction among the common folk; every working mason now has in his mouth scores of words, for the meaning of which learned men forty years ago would have searched in dictionaries.[1]

In the Cursor Mundi, the Tower of Babel is said to have been built

> Wit tile and ter, wituten stan,
> Oþer morter was þer nan;
> Wit cord and plum þai wroght sa hei.

They thus imagined their work:

> I rede we begin a laboure
> And do we wel and make a toure,
> Wit suire and scantilon sa even,
> Þat may reche heghur þan heven.[1]

The Tristrem had already employed more than two hundred French terms of war, hunting, law, leechcraft,

[1] Our words used in painting, sculpture, and music, come from Italy, not from France.

[2] P. 136.

religion, and ladies' dress; but the inroad of foreign words was to continue. About the year 1290, we find Churchmen becoming more and more French in their speech. Hundreds of good old English words were now lost for ever; and the terms that replaced them, having been for years in the mouths of men, were at length being set down in manuscripts. The Life of a Saint (many such are extant, written at this time) was called a *Vie*.[1] In that version of the Harrowing of Hell which dates from the aforesaid year, the transcriber has gone out of his way to bring in the words *delay*, *commandment* (this comes twice over), and *serve*: all these are crowded into five lines. Still more remarkable are the few and short Kentish Sermons, translated from the French about the same time, 1290.[2]. Never were the Old and the New brought face to face within narrower compass. We see the old Article with its three genders, *se*, *si*, *þet* (in Sanscrit *sa*, *sâ*, *tat*), still lingering on in Kent, though these forms had been dropped everywhere else in England. On the other hand, we find about seventy French words, many of which, as *verray*, *defenden*, *signifiance*, *orgeilus*, *commencement*, were not needed at all. When reading the short sentence, 'this is si signefiance of the miracle,' our thoughts are at one time borne back to the abode of our earliest forefathers on the Oxus; at another time we see the fine language of the Victorian penny-a-liner most clearly foreshadowed. After 1290, we hardly ever

[1] Long before this, the *Legend of St. Juliana* begins, 'her *cumeð* (commenceð) þe *vie*, &c.' In this piece *Caldey* stands for Chaldæa.

[2] *Old English Miscellany*, p. 26 (Early English Text Society).

find a passage in which the English words, now obsolete, are more than one seventeenth of the whole;[1] the only exception is in the case of some Alliterative poem. This fact gives us some idea of the havoc wrought in the Thirteenth Century.

It was to translators in Edward the First's time (this cannot be too often repeated) that our New English owes its present Frenchified guise. I shall now give two passages from the Cursor Mundi, which will show, first the motive of the average translator, and next, the flood of outlandish words brought in by him.[2]

Þis ilk bok es translate
Into Inglis tong to rede,
For the love of Inglis lede (people),
Inglis lede of Ingland,
For the commun at understand.
Frankis rimes here I redd,
Comunlik in ilk sted,
Mast es it wroght for Frankis man;
Quat is for him na Frankis can?
Of Ingland the nacion,
Es Inglis man þar in commun;
Þe speche þat man wit mast may spede,
Mast þarwit to speke war nede;
Selden was for ani chance
Praised Inglis tong in France;
Give we ilkan þare langage,
Mé think we do þam non outrage.

---

[1] We must count only the Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs.

[2] We may remark how this Yorkshireman clings to the rightful old *Frankis*, which had been pronounced *French* in the South, ever since Layamon's time. The Northern poet even turns the foreign *charge* into *cark*.—P. 1314.

To laud and Inglis man I spell
Þat understandes þat I tell.—P. 20.

Our poet thus bears witness to the fact, that there was much poetry in the England of 1290, but that this poetry was all in French, unless some one took pity on the lewd folk and translated for their behoof. Of the effect of these translations the following is a specimen. I have underlined the French words, which form more than one third of the Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs:—

A *saumpul* her be þaem I say,
Þat *rages* in þare *riot* ay;
In *riot* and in *rigolage*,
Of all þere liif spend þai þe *stage*;
For now is halden non in *curs*,
Bot qua þat luve can *paramurs*;
Þat *foly* luve þat *vanite*,
Þam likes now nan oþer gle;
Hit neys bot *fantum* for to say,
To day it is, to moru away,
Wyt *chaunce* of ded, or *chaunce* of hert.—P. 10.

This is a Yorkshire poem, and the passage alone is enough to overthrow the theory of those who hold that French made great conquests in the South of England, but did not much affect the North. Fifty years later, the Northern Hampole has thrice as much French in his prose treatises as his Kentish rival.[1] About 1300, the Southern translator of Bishop Robert's *Chasteau d'Amour* states that we cannot all understand Latin, Hebrew, Greek, or French; still every man ought to

[1] There is a mass of French words, later still, in Barbour and Wyntoun.

sing God's praises 'wiþ such speche as he con lerne.' The Bishop had written fifty years earlier:—

> En Romanz comenz ma reison,
> Por ceus ki ne sevent mie
> Ne lettrure ne clergie.

This his translator adapts to the changed practice of a later day—

> On Englisch I chul mi resun schowen
> For him þat con not iknowen
> Nouþer French ne Latyn.[1]

Much about the same time, another French poem was translated and enlarged, the Handlyng Synne, that we have already seen. By 1290, the mischief had been done; we must not be hard on Colonel Hamley, or on Blackstone, or on the compilers of the Anglican Prayer-book, or on the describer of a fashionable wedding in the Morning Post, or on the chronicler of the Lord Mayor's feast, or on the Editors of the Lancet and the Builder, because they deal in shoals of foreign terms; nearly six hundred years ago it was settled that the technical diction of their respective crafts must to a great extent be couched in French or Latin.[2] There were about 150 Romance words in our tongue before 1066, being mostly the names of Church furniture, foreign plants,

[1] *Castel of Love*, published by Mr. Weymouth for the Philological Society, page 3.

[2] It was once my lot to treat of a code of law; I find, on looking over my book, that at least one half of my Substantives, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Verbs dealing with this subject, are of Latin birth; so impossible is it for the most earnest Teuton to shake off the trammels laid on England in the Thirteenth Century.

and strange animals. About 100 more Romance words got the right of English citizenship before the year 1200. Lastly, 800 other Romance words had become common with our writers by the year 1300; and before these came in, many hundreds of good old English words had been put out of the way. Fearful was the havock done in the Thirteenth Century; sore is our loss: but those of us who love a Teutonic diction should blame, not Chaucer or Wickliffe, but the foreign fashions of an earlier age. The time of King Henry the Third's death is the moment when our written speech was barrenest; a crowd of English words had already been dropped, and few French words had as yet been used by any writer of prose or poetry, except by the author of the Ancren Riwle; hitherto the outlandish words had come as single spies, henceforward they were to come in batallions.[1]

There was no Standard of English, accepted all over the country, from 1160 to 1360; and the proof of this lies ready to hand. Though the Cursor Mundi is mostly a translation from the French, there is one exception; the matter from page 1148 to 1192 is copied from a Southern English poem. As the compiler of the Cursor says of this particular part,

> In Sotherin Englis was it draun,
> And turnd it have I till our aun
> Langage o Northrin lede,
> Þat can nan oiþer Englis rede.

The Southern English original, compiled about 1280,

[1] If any one wishes to divide English into two, not into three, parts, I think that 1270 would be the fairest point of division.

seems to have perished; but we may gain a good idea of what it must have been by comparing the two versions of the Assumption, printed in the 'King Horn,' pp. 44 and 75. The proportion of French words is here less than in the Cursor Mundi. The Southern version should be compared with the rather later Northern variation, for we may thus see how the tongue spoken on the Thames differed from that spoken on the Tees in 1290, when the great strife between the two kingdoms of Britain was about to begin. We have here an unusual privilege; for, though Northern poems were often done into Southern English, the process was hardly ever reversed. The Old English *heo* (illa) had long vanished from Yorkshire; the following Southern lines had therefore to be altered, even at the expense of the rime:

'Alas, my sone,' seide heo,
'Hu may ihc live, hu may þis beo?'

These became in Yorkshire,

'Alas, alas, alas,' said sco,
'How mai I live, how mai I be?'

Southern.	*Northern Translation.*
Wepe	Grete
No wunder nas	Was na ferli
Schal loky þe	Sal ta kep to þe
He wakede more	Scho wok mar
Kepte	Keped
þe whiles hi were	To-quils þai lenged
Þu were ibore	Þou was born
Ne schaltu beo	Tu mon noght be
Belamy	Þou suet ami

Southern.	*Northern Translation.*
Ihc bidde þe	I prai te
Into hire chaumbre	Until hir chamber
He bitraieþ	He bisuikes
Hem to amendy	Þam to mend
Þe devel	Þe feind
Þu þoledest wo	Þou thold wa
Wite hem	Þou kepe þam
He clupede	Scho cald
To bigge	To bii
ȝelde hit ȝou	Foryeild it yuu .
Of þat tiþinge	O suilk bodes
Wend þu nogt	Þou part noght
Nabbeth no drede	Has na dred
No sorez schal come	Na wa sal negh
Whei (where) hy be	Quarsum þai be
What is þe ?	Quat ails te ?

The future Standard English, as we may clearly see, was to follow blindly neither the Southern nor the Northern variety of speech, but was to look for her pattern to something that trimmed between the two; the great step was to be taken rather later than 1290. If some dialect about midway between London and York were to come to the front, this would have the best chance of being understood all over England, in the South and the North alike. When we compare the two versions above, we must see that a Franciscan Chapter at Oxford or London, including brethren from all the English shires, could not well help having recourse to either French or Latin, if the business in hand was to be understood by all the members alike.[1]

[1] When the Slavonians, from Carniola to Gallicia, met in Parliament in 1848, they found it needful to use the hated German.

I would here protest against a common habit of grammarians; when they find themselves puzzled in English, they make the Norman Conquest answerable for anything and everything. In this way they account for the Teutonic guttural being suppressed in the middle or at the end of our words; *buxom* is one of the few that keep the sound of the old *h* (buhsom) in the middle. But the French speech, as we see in the Cursor Mundi, in Hampole, in Barbour, in Wyntoun, and in Dunbar, had quite as much influence in the North as in the South of our island. I would suggest that men who toil in a hilly country, such as extends from Derby to Edinburgh, are more likely to keep the hard rough sounds than are the easy-going dwellers in the rich level plains of Southern England.[1] But it is curious that from 1290 downwards, the North has always kept a far greater proportion of old Teutonic words than the South has done; Dorset must in this yield to Ayrshire. Yet the Scotch classic writers (as they are called), such as Hume and Robertson, had at least as much love for Romance diction as their Southern brethren had. The common folk in Scotland have kept the beautiful old form *leal*, a French word unknown in the South.

Between 1220 and 1280 the new French words were but few; it was about the latter year that they were beginning to pour into written English. In the Havelok the old *corune*, by which a priest's head had been meant, was now applied to any man's skull; it is our *crown*.

[1] Lord Brougham's name was sounded something like 'Brokham' in the Yorkshire Dales long after 1800, as Professor Sedgwick tells us.

In p. 26 the French *meyne* stands for *household*, whence comes *menial*. *Dam*, the French corruption of the Latin *dominus*, is in p. 70; it was prefixed, as *Dan*, to English names twenty years after this, and the title, used of monks, lasted down to the Reformation.[1] The female *dame* (domina) has been longer-lived; *Dame Leve* comes in this poem, as *Sir Edward* came twenty years earlier. The term *mayster* had hitherto been used as a title of honour; at p. 35 it is applied to a kitchen-knave by a King. I remember, when a school boy, that we used to greet strangers with this title when asking a question: 'I say, master.' The French *burgeys* is encroaching on the English *burgher*, p. 40. At p. 79 comes the phrase *to crie merci*. The word *poure* (pauper) here keeps its old French sound, for it rimes with *Dovere* (p. 5); there is also *utrage*. We hear, at p. 8, that a King *dede sayse intil his hond al Engelond*. It is easy to see how this French law term came into common use as a synonym for *capere*. *Storie* appears clipped of the vowel that once began it, and *Justice* is used for a man in office as well as for a virtue. The French corruption of *hæres* was taking root in England, and was written *eyr*, just as we pronounce it. We see the origin of *deuce* in the line

Deus! lemman, hwat may þis be?

---

[1] A priest in Italy once told me the rule for the modern use of the word *Dominus*;

Cœlestem *Dominum*, terrestrem dicite *Domnum*.

Don is used in Italy, though not so much as in Spain. France talks of *Dom* Calmet, England of *Dan* Lydgate.

The *datheit*, first found in Dorsetshire, is in constant use. The old Interjection of sorrow, *eala þæt!* now takes a French form,

Allas! þat he shal þerwith fare!—P. 45.

The French *allaz*, now *hélas*, is often met with.

In the poem on the Assumption, about 1280, *space* is used of time, not of place: 'give them *space* to amend,' p. 48. In the King Horn the French words are many, and some of them are forced into English idioms, as *I me dute* (p. 10) for *I fear me*.[1] *Sir* is attached to words other than proper names, as *sire kyng* (p. 23). We see *he is of aye* (p. 38); there is also *squier*, *gravel*, *wicket*, *bitraie*; the verb *arrive* is in constant use. We hear of a giant from *Paynyme* (p. 23), and of an oath *bi Seint Gile* (p. 33). We see *gigour* (violin-player) at p. 42; perhaps our *jig* comes from this. There are also *cler*, *oste* (hospes), *porter*, *store*. Another version of the Floriz and Blancheflur was compiled about twenty years after this time; it is printed along with the other poems I have analysed, and begins at p. 101.[2] We have seen that in this Century *oi* in English had the sound of the French *ou* or *ou-i*; we now find it once more taking the sound of the French *ai*. At p. 106 the proper name *Doyrè* rimes with *fayre*; soon afterwards the former is written *Dayre*. The French *oi* was sounded like their *ou-i* in *boil*, and like their *ai* in *loi*. The old *coint*

[1] We may still hear *doubt* used for *fear*; as 'I doubt you want a dose.' The French used it in this way.

[2] In the second page of this we find *faderlonde*; this long ago died out in England, but was brought over from Germany in our own times.

(cognitus) about this time changed from the *cuint* of Philip de Thaun to *queint*.[1] The old *faible* has given us two words, *foible* and *feeble*; all three must have been formerly pronounced in the same way.

In the Lyric Poems of 1280 the French words are many; in p. 75 we see *atscapen*, a combination of the English *ætstyrtan* and the French *eschaper*. At p. 100 comes *dempned*, a compromise between the English *deman* and the French *damner*. About this year, 1280, the two languages were beginning to mingle together. We find expressions like *make my pees* (p. 100), *kepe counte*, p. 152 (Political S.), *compas a life*, p. 202. There are also *bailif*, *tax*, *paroshe*, *motun* (ovis), *crust*. There is *vouchsave*, which stands alone, I think, as a combination of an Adjective and Verb in one word. *Fine* is used for a *mulct*, p. 202 (Political S.). *Trous* (trowsers) may be found in p. 110 (Lyric P.); and *douse*, in p. 111, is the French Adjective long afterwards applied to David Deans.

Many new French words are seen for the first time in the Tristrem; among them are the Nouns *money*,

[1] In France the opposite took place; for there the *ou-i* sound of *oi* has almost wholly driven out the *ê* sound of *oi*. After this time *ou-i* became *ou-e* in the Fifteenth Century and *ou-a* in the Sixteenth. The old *fey* (fides) lost its old sound and became *fou-e*, *fou-a*, and *fo-a*. Palsgrave, in 1530, tells us that *droit* and *victoire* were pronounced as *droat* and *victoare*. *François* (the name of the nation) keeps the *ê* sound of *oi*; *François* (the name of the Saint) keeps the *ou-e*, *ou-a*, sound. *Royaume*, however, as Littré tells us, was pronounced *ré-ô-m* by some even so late as the Seventeenth Century. On the other hand, even in 1830, Lafayette sounded *roi* as *roué*, imitating Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth. See Brachet, *Etymological French Dictionary*, LIX.

quarter, barber, usher, present, lodge. *Pain* is found by the side of the English *pine*: there is also the French *nevou* (nephew), which has now driven out the Old English *nefa* and the Scandinavian *nefi*, at least from polite speech. The Old French had two corruptions of *scandalum*; these were *escandle* and *esclandre*; the former, with its head clipped, appears in the Ancren Riwle; the latter is first found in the Tristrem under the form of *slaundler* (p. 123). Both of these foreign forms have thriven among us; and I see that some of our fine writers have lately taken a great fancy to the form *esclandre*. *Mariner* is found; it is one of our few French-born words that are more poetic than their English synonyms; *courser* and *selle* stand on the same level; the most earnest of Teutons would not, I think, object to the phrase 'Land of the *Leal*.' Cattle killed at Martinmas for winter provision are still called *marts* in Scotland; in our copy of the Tristrem this is written *martirs* (p. 32); it was a word that the transcriber did not understand. In p. 112 *vertu* is used for *potentia*; we still say 'by *virtue* of this.' The French word *cuntre* had already been used by us for *patria*; it now stands for *populus*; in p. 148, we hear that *the cuntre was y-gadred*. A few years later, the word was further to stand for *rus*. At p. 92 we hear that a blow *no vailed o botoun* (button). The Adverb *prest* (cito) appears (p. 183). The Verbs *joien* (enjoy), *croise*, *wage* (wager), and *depart* (sunder) appear; also *bisege*, where the English Preposition has been set before a French root. We hear of a *fourched tre*; here a French word has the English Participial ending in *ed* fastened on. We first

see *saun fayl* at p. 51, and we then find, at p. 128, the French Preposition set before an English word; *san schewe*; this usage lasted down to 1600; *maugre* had been treated much in the same way. The oath *Dathet* is in constant use. There is a new idiom in p. 20: *allas that ich* (ilk) *while*, like Chaucer's *alas the day!* The *O* was used only before a Vocative in Layamon; it now becomes an exclamation, and no case need follow: *O thou slough* (slew) *Moraunt* (p. 166).

We see in the Tristrem, even more than in the other English works of 1280, how the compromise between French and Teutonic, henceforth to prevail in our land, was being carried out. The decay of our mother-tongue, that had being going on for sixty years, was now at last to be arrested.[1]

In the Poem on the Body and Soul, the remarkable French words are *caitif* and *slave*, opposed to *maister*, p. 336. The latter word had hitherto been usually a synonym for *doctor*. There is *mes* (epula), and *sise*, which was generally written *asise*.

I have already remarked upon the many new French words to be found in the Kentish Sermons; *we bieþ i-entred into* &c. is a curious idiom. We find *travail*, *divers*, *asoil*, *desever*, *move*, *ensample*, *verray*. *Cors* (corpus) lasted in this form to 1600. There are both *paens*

[1] Scott, in adding a few stanzas to the *Tristrem*, was hardly so happy as when he imitated the old ballads in his rimes on the field of Harlaw. I will point out a few words and forms used by him which could never have been found in Yorkshire in 1280: *different*, *prepare*, *heildom*, *she was sent for*, *he layne* (jacebat), *sole* (anima), *flore* (flos), *tare* (lachryma). The Active Participle *sayling* could not have been used in Yorkshire.

(pagans) and *Painime* whence comes our *Paynim.*[1] The French word *umble* is first found in p. 30; it is odd that this word should first appear in Uriah Heep's shire. When we borrow French Verbs with an Infinitive in *ir*, we form our new words from the Active Participle in *issant*; we find *perissi*, not *perir*, (perish) in these Homilies; in the next Century the doubled *s* was to become *sh*. Our distortion of these Verbs in *ir* is most curious.

In the Herefordshire Poems of 1290, we see the French for the first time encroaching upon English numerals; *a doseyn of doggen* (p. 239, Political Songs.). *Jolyf* is applied to a *lady* (p. 52, Lyric Poems), and seems here, following the French, to refer more to her mind than to her body; our *jolly girl* may be derived from this. The French *jolif* is said to come from the *Yule* of the conquerors of Normandy; a few years later, we shall find the *f* clipped. We see *bealté* (p. 53, do.); this represents an old *bellitas*; the word had been hitherto unchanged in England since the Norman Conquest, but in the Twelfth Century, *bel* in some provinces of France was replaced by *biau*. This new form came to England; the French *au* had the sound of their present *ou*, for about this year 1290 we find *beute* written as an English word in Yorkshire; *ewe* stood with us for the French *e-au* (aqua); long afterwards, about 1660, *beau* (*bo*) came to England, representing a third French sound of the Latin *bellus*; the *e* in the French word was no longer pronounced, having been dropped after

[1] The old *paganus* lasted down to 900 in France in the shape of *pagiens*.

Beza's time.[1] When we say, 'Mr. Bellamy has the bewty of a beau,' we bear witness to the fact, that three different French corrupt sounds of *bellus* have been brought to England in three different ages. Beaulieu in Hampshire is still called *Bewly*; *Bewfort* and *Mews* were written in England for Beaufort and Meaux down to 1470 or so. With this series of varying forms, we may compare our *treat, trait, tract*; *leal, loyal, legal*; *candle, chandler, chandelier*; *gentle, genteel, Gentile.*[2]

The Cursor Mundi is plainly a translation from the French. *Bot*, the French *mais*, begins an Imperative sentence abruptly, in p. 1036. *Quat* is used to English the French *que*, in p. 940; *quat yee er a felun folk!* Three hundred years later, this appears as 'what a felon folk ye are!' The French form *Marz*, not Orrmin's *Marrch*, is used for the month. There are shoals of French words in the poem. We sometimes find them with an English prefix, as *unmesur, unresun, unpes*; our *astray* is seen as *o strai* in p. 394; there is also *a-trott*, p. 906. The French *ess* was coming in as a suffix; we find *leoness* in p. 708. But the Old English endings were tacked on to French roots, as in *faithless, clearness*; there is also *faithful, tresunful*; *over* is prefixed to a French root, as *overpas*. The Greek Verb-ending *ize*, which had come through Italy to France, is now seen in England, where it was to form so many new Verbs in

[1] See Littré for the word *beau*; the Picards still sound *bieuté* and *biauté*.

[2] These different forms of one word seem to be most attractive to Englishmen; a worthy man, a novice in classic lore, has lately put forth in print the verb *deducate*, not being satisfied with *deduce* and *deduct*!

the Nineteenth Century. At p. 18 we hear that Jesu *baptist* Johan, and that the latter was named the *baptist*; we also find *evangelist*. The Teutonic *warning* (admonitio) is altered into *warnissing*, p. 1254, but only in the Yorkshire copies; this is a confusion with the French *guarnir*, *garnir*, and seems mere affectation. The imprecation *dapeit* is seen, but was not to last much longer; the three later copies throw it out. The old *hal and sund* (such was our love of Alliteration) becomes *sauf and sond* in p. 454; in p. 1348 men see God *face wit face*. The word *sir* now stands alone by itself, as in p. 590. We find the English corruption of *dominus*, upon which I have already remarked; in p. 762 St. Matthew is called *Dan Levi*. There is both the old Petre and the new *Peris* (Piers) in p. 764. We see *Dinis* and *Ambros*, names of Saints. There is *Simond* instead of Simon, in p. 804, a curious way of rounding off a word; it has left its trace in the proper name *Simmonds*. We see both *Lazarus* and the French form *Lazar*. Among French words used about 1290 in Yorkshire, but not understood elsewhere, are *canels* (canals), p. 114, *francke-lain* (dominus), p. 312, which is opposed to *thain* (servus); *pelf* (our *pilfer*), p. 356. The Substantive *pelf* came to stand for *property*, just as the Americans use the word *plunder*. At Lincoln is a place called the *Grecian* stairs; we see the source of this in p. 608, where a flight of stairs is called a *grece*. In p. 1236 we find *þe dai o þe mande*; hence Maunday Thursday. In p. 1246 we hear of the *defend tre* (forbidden). *To ball* (dance) was not understood out of Yorkshire (p. 754). We see the form *atend* in p. 1248, though this wa-

commonly written *tend* or *tent* in Yorkshire. The Verb *cuple* had been used in England; but we now first find the Noun, p. 584. The French *save* is used for *præter*; in p. 1116 we hear that all fled, *sauve þe apostels.* The French Verb *sacrer* gave us the Participle *sacrid*, p. 1116, which we have come to look upon as an Adjective. In p. 1142 we hear that God regards not man's *persun*; this is what the *prosopon* of the Greek Testament expresses; we now often use *persón* for *corpus. Centurion* becomes *centener* in p. 1140. The French *venin* is turned into *venim* (venom), p. 1204; just as the old Teutonic *snacc* (fishing boat) has been by us turned into *smack.* There is a curious French idiom in p. 1340: 'they should have sorrow, *es þar na dute*;' we should now simply say, *no doubt.* In p. 1322, a man makes *mendes* (amends); *amendment* is also found.

We see two forms of one Adverb, in *certes* and *certainlik.* St. John is called in p. 634, *a wel godd pece*; we still speak of a man as 'a piece of affectation.' We were losing our English names for 'the Five Wits,' which we now call *senses*; in p. 650 comes the phrase, 'he had his *tast toched* of the Holy Ghost.' The word *caitif* appears again; it was quite a Northern phrase. We now use *quantity* in rather a loose way, as 'a quantity of goods;' this is first seen in p. 712; 'we sal it lengh (lengthen) a *quantite*;' the two last words must here mean *somewhat.* The French *part* had already appeared; we now find, 'tell þam, o mi *parti*' (on my behalf), p. 736. The verb *grudge* had two meanings: one Intransitive, *murmurare*, which was to linger on in common use for three Centuries after its first appearance

in the Ancren Riwle;[1] the other Active sense, that of *invidere*, which we still keep, now first appears; in p. 760 comes *þair heling grochcd he þam noght.* The French verb *damp* (damno) was replacing the English *deme*, as in p. 788. The word *travail* stands for *parturitio* as well as for *labor*; Rebecca's peculiar *travelling* is described in p. 206, while in p. 212 we hear that life seems *travail* to an old man; this word seems to have got confused with *trouble* in later times. In p. 200 we first meet with the phrase 'to lose countenance;' the Noun was new in England. *Country* had before this been used for *patria* and *populus*, it now stands for *rus*; in p. 250, Potiphar goes into the *contre*. We find a common idiom of ours in p. 910; *þe time was past midnight*; in the later copies *over* is inserted before the last word; we now use *past* like a Preposition. The French *marche* is here preferred to the English *meare*; and *targe*, common to both tongues, is pronounced in the French way; see p. 574. *Pinion* stands for *pinnacle* in p. 744. There is *maumentri* in p. 1258, the word for superstitious juggling, borrowed from the great Arabian; this lingered in England for 300 years. The form *maledight* (cursed) is an ingenious attempt to fit an English ending to a French word; the French *des* is altered into English *mis* in p. 858, where *mismay* comes instead of *desmay*. The technical word for metre, *bastune*, appears in p. 854. There is a curious attempt to turn a French ending into a kindred English ending,

[1] This old sense is kept in our Bible: 'grudge not against one another, brethren.' But *grudge*, where Tyndale used it in this sense, has been often struck out of the Bible by the men of 1611.

when *servand* is written for *servant*, p. 738. In p. 876, Christ washes his disciples' feet, and bids them bear with one another, *sin I has þus-gat servid yuu*. The *serve* here seems to partake of both the meanings that we now apply to the Verb; *servire* and *tractare*. In the earliest Yorkshire copy, we come upon *spite*, p. 890; in the other copies it is the old *dispite*; we here get a hint of the quarter whence many of our clippings have come. In p. 896 *spirit* appears as *spreit*. On reading the line, *to-quils he lai in orisun*, p. 892, we see how the old French *oreisun* had to undergo that thoroughly English habit, the throwing back the accent to the third syllable from the end. The old *honūr* is pronounced *hōnur*, line 6567. It is curious that *up* is coupled with the French word *liver* (tradere), *liver his maister up*, p. 908; since that time the *up* has been placed after many other Verbs, in the Scandinavian way. Sometimes an English and French Adjective, with the same meaning, are coupled together; as *his aun propur might*, p. 1074. We see *quarner*, p. 1096; in the three later versions this is altered into *corner*, the form that we still keep. In p. 1252 stands '*do þair ḏever*' (duty). In p. 442 comes '*he paind him to make*' &c., and in p. 1358, '*we will do ur pain*;' hence our 'take pains to;' but the French *peine* usually in England bore a harsher meaning than that of *labor*. There is another attempt at a Middle Verb, *repentes yow*, p. 1094. We hear of King Arthur's *ronde tabell*, p. 8; it was this that made *round* so common a word that it even became a Preposition, and drove out the old *umbe* (amphi). We find the phrase *do justice*, and also the Passive Participle *þe baptist*, 'the

baptized.' In *brek to pes*, we see a foreign word brought in to get rid of the Old English compound *to-brek*; the North parted with these compounds long before the South West did. In the Havelok, the *pieces* of this phrase had been represented by the English *grotes* (fragmenta).

Among other new French words are found *prologg* (prologue), *prient* (print), *dubul* (double), *fable*, *funnel*, *archer*, *dinner*, *forest*, *odor*, *purveyor*, *tassel*, *force*, *simple*, *ribodi* (ribaldry), *page* (*puer*, a word unknown, it seems, in France before 1200), *nece* (niece), *cosin*, *printiz* (prentice), *faciun* (fashion), *still* (style), *pas* (pace), *stank* (tank), *monument*, *tenur* (tenor), *parchemin*, *visage*, *mesel* (leper), *litter*, *poudre*, *flourish*, *daunt*, *front*, *affair*, *allow*, *meschive*, *fortune*, *mer* (mayor), *bandun* (abandon), *try*, *mace*, *lege lord*, *in vain*, *special*, *diademe*, *enterwal* (interval), *brai*, *abortive*, *surfeit*, *grievance*, *range*, *vice*, *principal*, *respite*, *valley*, *titel*, *square*. *Idiot* is in the earliest copy alone; in the three later ones (p. 600) the word, though at the end of a line, is changed into *fole*, and the other line is altered, so as to rime with the new word. Noah is ordered to have a *wardropp* (wardrobe) in the Ark, p. 104. A French word and an English word are coupled in *term-dai*, p. 1230. It is rather strange to find so pronounced a Latin form as *auctorite*, p. 1236; but this form lasted in France down to 1600, though Palsgrave says that the *c* was not pronounced. Tyndale has the same form.

Among French words made familiar to us by religion are, *supplanter*, *santuare* (sanctuary), *propiciatori*, *substance*, *respond*, *task*, *testament*, *stature*, *confund*, *creatur*, *sesun*, *provide*, *concord*, *savour*, *vengeance*, *buels* (bowels),

conceive, errour, avocat, organ, lamp, covenant, receive, violence, confirm, vessel, ravish, translate, transfigure, crucify, faint, victory, honest, reherce, supper, remissiun, resurreccium, naciun, convert, restore, ascension, langage, pnplicane, dampnaciun, multiply, condemn, descend, dissenciun, discord, sauveur (saviour), *matter, avail, conquerour, enchanter, affliction, untment* (ointment), *promission, conclude, communli, genelogi* (genealogy), *elements, scripture, govern, ordain.* The sacrament of *baptim*, a form that lasted with us down to the Reformation, comes in p. 730;[1] the form seems to show that the French now no longer pronounced the *s*, which they always wrote in *baptesme*. We find also in this piece the Verbal Noun *baptiszing*, p. 734. We see *abime* (abyss) in p. 1286. The old *Cristendom* makes way for the new French form *cristianité*, p. 130. *Clergie* means *scientia* in p. 488; we know our 'benefit of clergy.' But it takes another meaning, and stands for the Latin *clerici* in p. 1236. Pharaoh's host mount *cartes* when they chase Israel, p. 360; but the French *chare* (chariot) is also employed, as in p. 302.

As to the French words in the Percival and Isumbras, the most important is our common *just*, used in the sense of *right, even*; in p. 11 comes *his hode was juste to his chynne*; it is curious that *just* should be found in this sense before its meaning of *equity* appeared in England. The new words found in the Tristrem,

[1] Littré does not give a French instance of the contraction *baptême* earlier than Bossuet; the *s* seems always to have been inserted, at least in writing. I think that the *Cursor Mundi* is the earliest evidence as to the loss of the French *s* in pronouncing the word.

pend (pertinere) and *bisege*, are here repeated. There are also *paw* and *cushion*, I think for the first time. *Raye* (rex) is in p. 8; the form *roy* was often used in Scotland down to the Reformation, but never took root in Southern England; *egle* (aquila) is in p. 103, though the old *earn* made a long fight for existence, even in the South. A man is said to pray *enterely* (in good earnest), p. 106; hence the Irish 'I'm kilt entoirly.' *Mercy* is used in the sense of *beneficium*, p. 89. The word *travel*, as we saw in the Cursor, was being hard worked in the North; the *travellande man* (viator) is first seen in p. 38. We hear of a *wayte* (watchman), p. 47; the Noun is not yet extinct in England. The French word *study* now stands for *deep thought*; in p. 66 comes '(he) wanne owt of *study*.' *Fail* takes an accusative: *the Sarazenes faylede hym*, p. 117; *certeyne* is used as an Adverb, p. 74.

The French words in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle abound, as was natural under the circumstances. We see the French *ante* written *aunte*, as we still write the first vowel; there is also *aumperour*. We now began to talk of *Germanie* and *Saxonie*; in p. 162 we are told that the former land is *Alemayne*; there is also *Grece* and *Gasconye*. We hear in p. 441 of the Abbey of *Fonteynes*. What we call *Brittany* is *Brutayne* in p. 459. We see both *Beaumond* and *Beulu*, King John's Abbey; the latter word is in p. 493. I have already pointed out that the old sound of the Norman *eau* (ew) has not yet left the name of this Hampshire place. *Chatew* is in p. 113. The *oi* is used to express the French *é* as well as *ou*. Hence arose endless confusion;

we see *creyserie* for a derivative of the Latin *cru-cem*; all this comes from the French having used *oi* to express two different sounds.[1] We see *preye* (præda), p. 270; the French wrote it *proie*, and corrupted their old sound of this word, while we English keep the true pronunciation. *Estrange* loses its first letter in p. 510.

The Latin *aer* now appears as *eyr*. In *verdyt*, *elit*, and *cors*, which are all found here, we have inserted Consonants since Robert's time, preferring the Latin to the French form. The foreign *propos* becomes *porpos* (purpose), p. 558. The *regn* (reign) in p. 254 follows the French closely. In the forms *Feverer* and *Jenyver* (pp. 399, 408) Robert sticks closely to his original; there is also *Jun*. Robert Courthose is called *quarry* in p. 412, showing how the French once pronounced their present *carré*. The *Fitz*, so common in our proper names, is seen as *Fiz*, p. 551. The form *messinger*, with the *n* in the middle, is found in p. 128.

Robert was the first man who dated in English from the 'year of *grace*.' A fashion is seen of rolling French and English words into one, as *Courthose*, *pecemele*; but we must remember that *gem-stone* came long before the Norman Conquest. There are compounds like *hauteness*, *vantward* (vanguard), *a peyre hose*, p. 390. *Peace* is freely used: 'make his pes,' p. 57, 'sit in pes,' &c. *Peer* is treated like a Substantive, as in Philip de Thaun's work: 'find here pere' (their match), p. 103. 'Pyte yt was to' &c., is in p. 305; in the same page we first hear of a 'poer (power) of folc,' like Virgil's *canum vis*. In

[1] About 1530, one of Tyndale's friends was known as *Joy*, *Jay*, and *Gee*, showing that *oi* was then still pronounced as *ay* in England.

'no manere harm,' p. 359, an *of* is dropped before the last word. English asserts its growing terseness, even in translating; the Northern men had a similar form, *nakin harm*. There are such very French forms as *sous-prior* and *Sink Pors*, p. 515; these are called in p. 51 *þe fyf portes*. The *clos* and the *street* are coupled in p. 7; Scott heartily loved the old term. Our modern penny-a-liners are trying to replace *household* by *ménage*; they may fairly appeal to a passage in p. 183. The word *routier* had an awful sound in our fathers' ears; in p. 297 it becomes *roter*, and Tyndale writes it *rutter*. A well-known legal term comes in p. 517; an *eire of justize* goes about. In p. 528 we hear of the *commune* (commons) of the Oxford clerks.

Among the Adjectives we see *pur blind*, where *pur* answers to the old *clean*; *pure clene* comes in p. 434. We know Scott's '*gentle* and *simple*'; the latter word is seen as *humilis* in p. 95. The French form of *nescius* is seen as *nyce* in p. 106. In p. 549 certain men 'hold themselves *defensable*,' that is, defend themselves; hence comes our word *Fencibles*, clipped in the usual English way. This Adjective has an active, not a passive meaning, which is rather uncommon in words ending in *able* or *ible*. *Certain* is used for *quidam*, not for *certus*, in p. 107: *by certeyn messageres*.

The Verb *fail* governs an Accusative, p. 195, as in Yorkshire. The old Teutonic *oðer* is now replaced by *secund*, a wonderful change, p. 414.

The Teutonic adverbial ending is added to French roots, as *pitosliche*, *feinteliche*, *sodeinliche*. In 515 we see our common *scarseliche* (vix); *enfin* is translated

atte fine, p. 27; *for þe cas þat* is a new way of Englishing *quia*; we are not far from *because*.

There are new words like *metal, concubine, despise, alied to, gransyre, obligi, Parlement, maim, fosse, baneret, cirurgian, meschance, comfort, suit* (of clothes, p. 191), *collar, souple, spicer, soveryn, tailor, chair, glose, sauf condut, libel, trespas, carpenter.*

There are phrases like '*marry* my daughter to a bachelor,' p. 30; 'have some *colour* of right,' p. 313; 'to be in *company*,' p. 429; 'to amend such *maners*,' p. 533; 'to make *wardens* of Frenchmen,' p. 550; 'to *compass* a thing,' p. 109.

Milton has a famous passage in his 'Areopagitica' about an eagle *muing* her youth; this French corruption of *mutare* is seen here in p. 550, where wardens of castles are *iremewed* (changed).

In the Lives of the Saints (Philological Society), the French Proper Names come in; such as *Jake* (Jacques), *Lucie*, and the town of *Athenes* (Athens). An Archbishop elect speaks to certain messengers as *beau freres*, p. 82. A child addresses its mother as *ma dame*, p. 40. There are also the words *uncle, perche, keverchief, fisicien*; this last word Tyndale used instead of *leech*. *Contrai men* stand for *agricolæ* in p. 44. In p. 52 comes *bi cas* (by chance). In p. 76 a threat is made *wiþ so gret eir*; hence, 'give himself great airs.'[1] The French *jolyf* is used as we now employ *jolly* (lætus), in p. 46. There is a piling up of the Comparative sign

[1] *Aire* was used for *manner* in France in the Eleventh Century. It is strange that this meaning could ever come from the Latin *aer*; Littré has a long note on the point.

in *noblerere* (nobilior), p. 55; they could not as yet quite understand how to make foreign words run smoothly in English. In p. 78 St. Edmund loses his bodily power, but has all his thoughts *delyvre*; this Adjective came to stand for the Latin *liber*, and it may have influenced our use of *clever*. We see a French Participle appear in p. 41; a man is *repentant* of his deeds. In p. 78 the French Verb *use* supplants our own *brucan*; (*fruí* is the kindred Latin word). St. Edmund *usede* our Lord's flesh (the Eucharist). In p. 117 a man wishes 'to *parie* an apple.'

In the Legend of St. Brandan (Percy Society) we find *herbs* (a word afterwards much used by Tyndale), *queor* (choir), *grape* (uva), instead of the old *win-berry*, p. 19. This seems to be the true old French phrase, now supplanted in France by *raisin*; Littré quotes *sanc de grape* (vinum) from a piece of the Twelfth Century. In p. 23 comes, 'have a good case of us.'

In the Treatise of Science, belonging to the same manuscript, the new French words are *qualite*, *ocean*, *deserve* (no longer *ofserve*), a hare's *forme*.

In the St. Margaret (Early English Text Society) come *tourmentz*, take *consail*, be in *oreisons*, *boil*, *vile*, upe (at) his *coust*, *entente*, thou hast no *part* wip me, *signe* of þe croiz; in p. 26 *crie* and *grede* are found side by side.

In the Becket of the same manuscript (Percy Society), we remark that in 1300 we pronounce *use* much as we do now, for it is there written *yuse*, p. 23. So, in this Severn country, *ewt* was written for *ouht*. *Tirant*, p. 36, takes the intruded *t* at the end. The *persone*

ecclesiæ, mentioned in the Constitutions of Clarendon 130 years earlier, now appear as *persones*, p. 124; *persone* is used for *curé* in French poems of that Century. We see *accounts*, *lay fee*, *advowson*, *maner* (manor), *hold in chief*, *asoil*, *distrain*, *pardon*, *blanket*, *in prejudice of him*, *profession*, *oleggi*, *surance* (assurance). There is the renowned *peraventure*, p. 91, which Tyndale has made immortal; also the oath *parde*, p. 106. There are phrases like 'pay his court,' p. 11; 'do us grace,' p. 69. In p. 61 is the cry *merci!* standing by itself. In the one page 31, St. Thomas calls himself both *warde* (custos) and *wardeyn* of the Church. In this poem, we can watch the change in the meaning of words; a clerk is *iproved* for felon in p. 35; a son *proves* (evenit) evil, in p. 121.[1] In p. 110 blood runs *al round aboute* the Saint's head; this is a mixture of Romance and Teutonic synonyms. In p. 21 St. Thomas promises to keep the laws, '*sauvé* oure rizte;' in p. 105 this Past Participle is turned, as it were, into a Preposition; 'I love no man more, *sauf* his fader.'

A new idiom for the Future Participle was coming in; in p. 40 we see *he was upe the poynte to be icast*; *about to* implied intense earnestness; it could not express the bare Future until two hundred years later.

In the Alexander, the chief French words are *fairye*,

[1] Jekyll's rimes, punning on three different words, are well known; when Garrow, in Court, was in vain trying to badger an ugly old woman into the admission, that a legal tender had been made:

'Garrow, forbear; that tough old jade
Will never *prove* a *tender maid*.'

The meaning of the word *prove* slipped from *probare* into *probari*, and then into *evenire*.

sojour, *amblant* (of a horse), *beef and motoun*, p. 218; *bonie* (bonny) *loudis*, p. 161; *reirwarde*, p. 317; *per-force*, *gardin*, *terrene*, the *remenaunt*, *launche*, p. 155, distinguished from the other form *launce* in p. 71; the kyngis *persone*, p. 305; *be certeyn*, *give asaut*; *dereworth* is making way for *precious*, when jewels are mentioned. We have seen how *round* was coming in; it now began to be used as a Preposition, 'this is *round* the mydell erd,' p. 29. In the Life of Becket, this takes an English prefix, and becomes *around*, like *a strai*. The French *saunz*, so well known to Shakespere, is used in *saunz fayle*. The word *pes* (peace) is used much as an Interjection in p. 315. Romance Verbs imitated their English brethren; thus, 'they *buth passed* over a water,' p. 87, is clearly copied from the Teutonic idiom, 'he is gone over,' &c.

In the Handling Synne, the French form *beaute* takes in English the form *beute*; see p. 394, where they stand side by side; this is another proof that the French *eau* was once pronounced as they now sound *iou*. We see the English tendency to contract, when *parshe* (parish) appears in p. 123; the French word to be translated was *parochiens*. The word *parsone* (clericus) comes in the French original, p. 152. The French *deakene* (diaconus), p. 275, becomes *dekene*. In. p. 100, *escharnir* is Englished by *scorn*, the word used by Orrmin a hundred years earlier. In p. 30, *les tempestes cesserent* is translated by *tempest secede*; we have long confounded the sound of *c* with that of *s*. In p. 109 we see how liquid Consonants run into each other:

> What sey ȝe, men, of ladyys pryde,
> Þat gone *traylyng* over syde?

This in the French is *traînant*; thus Bononia became *Bologna*, and Lucera was sometimes written *Nucera*. Our language is richer than the French, since we have both *trail* and *train*; the latter is seen in Norfolk in 1440. The *destresse* of Robert of Gloucester here becomes *stresse*, p. 89, and this form appears in Norfolk 140 years later. The *de* in *defend* is clipped in p. 231, where *fende* appears; hence our *fenced* cities. French words, like their English brethren, underwent clipping in the Danelagh; *enticer* becomes *tyse* in page 4. The *r* is thrown out, when *pallesye* (palsy) is written for *paralysy*, p. 370; again in p. 342 *sacristan* is written *sekesteyn*, whence comes *sexton*. The French Verb *chaustier* is sometimes translated *chasty*, but in p. 152 it becomes *chastyse*, without any need of rime; this must have come from seeing the word written *chastizen*; the ȝ (our *y*) was mistaken for a *z*; Orrmin had already done this.

There are new words like *orryble*, *properties*, *tenement*, *prayere*, *renoun*, *morsel*, *tryfyl*, *usurer*, *valeu*, a *fair*, *affynyte*, *dysport*, *pompes*, *vycary* (vicar), p. 360, *esquaymous* (squeamish), *moreyne* (pestis), *pestelens*, *affray* (tumultus), *customer* (solitus), p. 273; *proverb*, *enterlude*, *dance*, *carol*, *creme*, *abasched*, *hutch*. *Age* stands for *senectus* in p. 239; it was to drive out *eld* for many years. Our bard finds it needful to give long explanations in English rime of the strange words *mattok*, *sacrilege*, and *miner* (pp. 31, 266, and 331). There are phrases like *on al manere* (by all means), p. 62; *oute of resoune*, p. 71; *make mention of*, p. 324; *make hym pe mowe*, p. 125, whence comes the phrase 'make mouths

at me,' in our Prayer-book;[1] '*revers to holynes*;' p. 343; '*yn comune*,' p. 322; '*assoil a man clear*,' p. 360; '*go home a gode pas* (pace),' p. 322; '*crye ȝow mercy*,' p. 275; '*Gode is of longe suffraunce*,' p. 302; '*know for certeyn*,' p. 265; '*ȝyue lytel fors of hym*,' p. 318; an exact translation from the French, though we now supplant *fors* by *account*; the former word was in this sense to last down to Udall's time.

The fashion now begins of conferring the masculine gender upon French Substantives ending in *é* or *ie*; Byron, Bryant, and Longfellow, have continued this custom; Robert speaks of Charyte as *he*, in p. 469 of my Book. The old word *syfernes* is dropped, and the kindred French word *sobreté* is translated by *soberte*, our *sobriety*. In p. 149 *nycete* stands for *folly*; it was soon to get the further sense of *wantonness*, which it never had in France. In p. 56, *joly* stands for *riotous*; *yf a man be of joly life*. In p. 228 there is a piling up of French and English synonyms; *on many maner dyvers wyse*. In p. 273 *en le qeor* is turned into *yn þe chaunsel*. We find our *county court* in p. 276, where the French *seculer plai, cum est cunte*, is turned into *lay court, or elles counte*. In p. 75 the word *party* gets its modern meaning:

> Þys aperyng, yn my avys,
> Avaylede to boþe *partys*.

In p. 229 *single* is opposed to *married*; *simples hom* is Englished by *sengle knave*. In p. 152 *assyse* stands for a *trial* before a Judge; it had borne this sense in France

[1] This is a good example of the confusion between a Romance and a Teutonic word.

in the Twelfth Century. In p. 359, *geste* seems to add the meaning of *jocus* to that of *historia*; the Magdalen laughs neither for *game* nor for *geste*. In p. 108, we learn that women set their hearts on being called *Madame* or *Lady*; 'wurdys of wurschyp.' The *Sir* was freely used; we hear of *Sir Simony*, pp. 173–174; 'þe parysshe prest *Syre Robert*,' (the first instance of this clerical title of honour in English), p. 285; it was to last for 300 years. In p. 340 stands *Syre Symalus* the Pope; in p. 345 folk are said to wed for the love of *Syre Kateyl* (propputy, propputy); in p. 363 the poet tells of his own experience, in reproving sinners:—

> Some sey, as y have herde,
> 'A! Syre! so sinneþ alle þe worlde.'

In p. 224 we further hear of Seynt Charyte, a phrase that lasted down to Shakespere's time;[1] in p. 149 *charyte* stands for *alms*, as in the French original; *la charite luy enveia*. The word *clerc* is used, not of a priest, but of a notary, in p. 180. An English ending is fastened on to a French root in the case of *largeness*, p. 219, and *pityfully*, p. 49. In p. 72 we see the unhappy French word, which has driven out the true English *afeard*, at least from polite speech. *Fu tant affraie* is there turned into *he was a frayde*.[2] In this poem we further see the French *peyne* driving out the older *pine*.

[1] Tyndale, p. 21, not far from the end of Vol. II., has to defend his philology from More's attack, and so gives all the senses borne by *charity* in 1530; the whole passage is well worth reading. He mentions 'sweet St. Charity.'

[2] In Isaiah lvii. 11, comes, 'of whom hast thou been *afraid* or *feared*?'

We find new Verbs like *discumfyte*, *pele* (spoliare), *deyn*, *suppose*, *aim* (æstimare), *revyle*, *tremle*, *master* (vincere). A child is *daunted* (dandled), p. 154; hair is *dressed*, p. 136; we come upon *to amount unto synne*, p. 141; '*quit* thee well,' p. 296, though the Verb here means no more than *liberare*.

In p. 95 we see a sense that has long been given in England to the French *touch*, 'to speak of;' *y touchede of þys yche lake*. In p. 325 we light on the old *coverde* (convaluit); and in p. 222 we see the new French form *recovere*. In p. 352 comes *þou shalt haste hyt*, a translation of the French transitive verb.

There are both *verement* and *verryly*; the first in its foreign adverbial ending points to *mind*, the second in its English adverbial ending points to *lic* (body).

In p. 323, we see the beginning of what was to become a well-known English oath—

'Ye,' he seyde, '*graunte mercy*.'

In the Medytacyuns of the Soper of oure Lorde, the new French words are *real* (verus), *devoutly*, *array*, *carry*, *accept*, *pryme*. *Dame* is used of a hen, p. 10; we now make a great difference between *dame* and *dam*. The Vocative *seres*, our *sirs*, comes in p. 27. *Preise* had hitherto meant *laudare* in England; in p. 11 it stands for *æstimare*; we now express this meaning of the Verb by *prize* or *appraise*. In p. 13, a French Past Participle takes the English adverbial ending; *avysyly* (advisedly). In p. 11 the meaning of the Latin *quia* is expressed by *by cause þat*, an improvement on the Gloucestershire *for þe cas þat*. In p. 29 comes the sentence, 'the others

bore all, *save* his mother bare his hand;' no *that* comes after the *save*; and Horace's *excepto quod*, &c. is thus pared down in English. 'Be of good *comfort*,' is in p. 35.

I again return to the Handlyng Synne, for I have kept to the last the greatest changes of all that are found in that poem; in p. 321 we find a French Active Participle doing duty for a Preposition:

Passyng alle þyng hyt haþ powere.

Mandeville has 'passynge old'; and sixty years later this French participle was to be used like an Adverb; later still, like an Adjective. Chaucer has 'he is a passyng man.'

In p. 180 comes

My body y take þe here to selle
To sum man as yn *bondage*.

This *bondage* (called *bondehede* in the Lancashire version of the Cursor Mundi, p. 314) is the first of many words in which a French ending was permanently tacked on to an English root. I say permanently, for Robert of Gloucester had already coined the word *reverye* (spoliatio) to rime with *robbery*, meaning the same, p. 193; but this term was not employed later in England; *shreward* had also come in 1264, being coined to rime with *Edward*; but it never took root. We see *lestagium* (lading-toll) in a Charter of Henry the First's to London.[1]

A great change indeed was coming over England about the year 1300, from the Severn to the Humber; the old Teutonic sources of diction had been sadly dried

[1] Stubbs, *Documents illustrative of English History*, p. 103.

up, and could no longer supply all her wants; Germany was to have a happier lot, at least in speech. Nothing can more clearly set forth the inroad of the French than the following sentence, which is made up of words in the every-day use of the lowest among us:

'In the *mean* time of *course* I *immediately*, at half *past* four, walked *quite round* the *second* of the walls, *because perhaps* it might have been *very* weak, *just* as it *used* to be.'

We should find it hard to change these foreign words in italics for Teutonic equivalents, without laying ourselves open to the charge of obsolete diction. England, too careless of her own wealth, has had to draw upon France even for Prepositions and Conjunctions. After reading such a sentence as the one above, we are less astonished to find words like *face, voice, dress, flower, river, uncle, cousin, pass, touch, pray, try, glean*, which have put to flight the commonest of our Teutonic words. Strange it is that these French terms should have won their way into our hovels as well as into our manor houses!

So barren had our tongue become by the end of this unlucky Thirteenth Century, that henceforward we had to import from abroad even our Terminations, if we wanted to frame new English Nouns and Adjectives. We were in process of time to make strange compounds like *godd-ess, forbear-ance, oddl-ity, nigg-ard, uphear-al, starv-ation, trust-ee, fulfil-ment, latch-et, wharf-inger, kingl-et, fish-ery, behav-iour, tru-ism, love-able, whims-ical, talk-ative, slumbr-ous.*[1] What a falling off is here! what a lame ending for a Teutonic root!

[1] Let us keep *happify* at bay! The worst compound I ever met

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

We were also to forget the good Old English Adjectival *isc* or *ish*, and to use foreign endings for proper names like *Alger-ine*, *Gael-ic*, *Syri-ac*, *Chin-ese*, *Wykeham-ist*, *Wesley-an*, *Irving-ite*, *Dant-esque*.[1] Cromwell in his despatches talks of the *Lincoln-eers*.

By-and-by French Prefixes drove out their English brethren, even when the root of the word was English; we are now doomed to write *embolden* and *enlighten*, and to replace the old *edniwian* by *renew*. We keep the old *mynan* in 'mind you do it;' but *mynegian* has made way for *remind*. *Mistrust* has been almost wholly driven out by *distrust*. I remark a tendency in our days to substitute *sub* for *under* in composition, and *non* for *un*; as *sublet*, *non-possessive*. We have happily two or three Teutonic endings still in use, when we coin new Adjectives and Nouns; one of these is *ness*. It had English rivals in full vigour at the end of the Fourteenth Century, but they have now dropped out of use; what our penny-a-liners now call *inebriety* might in 1380 be Englished not only by Chaucer's *dronkenesse*, but by Wickliffe's *drunkenhede*, by Mirc's *dronkelec*, and by

with was *mob-ocracy*. I half fear to point it out, lest the penny-a-liners should seize upon it as a precious jewel. What a difference does the Irish ending *een* make when added to *squire*! In *Miss Martineau's Life*, Vol. III., we find such American gems as *egg-and-milkism*, *anti-amalgamationist*.

[1] In this last word the old Teutonic ending *isc* has gone from Germany to Italy, then to France, and at last to England. We get some idea of the influence Rome has had upon England, in various ways, when we find no less than four derivatives: Roman, Romish, Romance, Romanesque.

Gower's *drunkéshepe*.[1] Our lately-coined *pigheadedness* and *longwindedness* show that there is life in the good old *ness* yet; we should always write *advisableness*, *promptness*, *exactness*, not *advisability*, *promptitude*, *exactitude*. The old *er* is well preserved in *missioner*; the common people call a *Belgian* a *Belger*. Such new Substantives as *Bumbledom* and *rascaldom* prove that *dom* is not yet dead; and such new Adjectives as *peckish* and *rubbishy* show a lingering love for the Old English Adjectival endings. I have lately seen, not only *wordy*, but *viewy*. There is a wonderful difference between a *good* book and a *goody* book.

More than one Englishman might when a child have given ear to the first Franciscan sermons ever heard in Lincolnshire, and might at fourscore and upwards have listened to the earliest part of the Handlyng Synne. Such a man (a true Nævius), on contrasting the number of newfangled Romance terms common in 1300 with the hundreds of good old Teutonic words of his childhood, words that the rising generation understood not, might well mourn that in his old age England's tongue had become strange to Englishmen.[2] But about this time, 1300, the Genius of our language, as it seems,

[1] Other roots, with all these four endings, may be found in Stratmann's *Dictionary*.

[2] As to the speech of religion, compare the Creed at page 303, with the description of Charity at page 469; yet there are but sixty years between them. In later times, Caxton says that he found an amazing difference between the words of his childhood and those of his old age: Hobbes, Cibber, and Landor must have remarked the same, as to turns of expression. Language is so fleeting a thing, that it is wrong to talk of *fixing* it.

awoke from sleep, clutched his remaining hoards with tighter grip, and thought that we had lost too many old words already. Their rate of disappearance between 1220 and 1290 had been most rapid, as may be seen by the Table in page 587; had this process been continued at the same rate after 1290, we should not have had a single Teutonic Noun, Verb, or Adverb left by 1830. Some hundreds of these words were unhappily doomed to die out before 1520, but the process of their extinction was not speedy, as the same Table will show. After 1300, the Franciscans began to forsake their first love; one of the earliest tokens of the change was the rearing in 1306 of their stately new London Convent, which took many years to build, and where hundreds of the highest in the land were buried. It arose in marked contrast to the lowly churches that had been good enough for the old friars, the first disciples of St. Francis. Their great lights vanished from Oxford; the most renowned name she boasts in the Fourteenth Century is that of their sternest foe. About 1320 they were attacked in English rimes, a thing unheard of in the Thirteenth Century. We now learn that a friar Menour will turn away from the needy to grasp at the rich man's gifts; the brethren will fight over a wealthy friend's body, but will not stir out of the cloister at a poor man's death; they

> 'wolde preche more for a busshel of whete,
> Than for to bringe a soule from helle out of the hete.'[1]

[1] *Political Songs* (Camden Society), p. 331. Churchmen, lawyers, physicians, knights, and shopkeepers are all assailed in this piece.

These rimes were written about the date of Wickliffe's birth. Chaucer, rather later, brands the brethren as impostors; and a bard sixty years further on prefers still worse charges against them.[1] The Franciscans had by this time done their work in England, though they were to drag on a sluggish life in our shires for two hundred years longer. Curious it is, that the time of their fiery religious activity coincides exactly with the time of England's greatest loss in a philologer's eyes.[2]

Robert of Brunne began his Handlyng Synne, as he tells us, in 1303; he must have taken some years to complete it. We possess it, not as he wrote it, but in a Southern transcript of 1360 or thereabouts; even in this short interval many old terms had been dropped, and some of the bard's Scandinavian words could never have been understood on the Thames. The transcriber writes more modern equivalents above those terms of Robert's which seemed strange in 1360. I give a few specimens, to show the change that went on all through the Fourteenth Century:—

Robert of Brunne, in 1303.	*His Transcriber about* 1360.	*Robert of Brunne, in* 1303.	*His Transcriber about* 1360.
Gros	Dred	bale	sorow
wlatys	loþeþ	yn lowe	fyre
wede (insanus)	made	layþ	foule

[1] Let a freer of sum ordur *tecum pernoctare*,
Odur thi wyff or thi doughtour *hic vult violare*.

See *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, II. 247.

[2] Happy had it been for Spain if her begging friars, about the year 1480, had been as sluggish and tolerant as their English brethren.

Robert of Brunne, in 1303.	*His Transcriber, about* 1360.	*Robert of Brunne, in* 1303.	*His Transcriber, about* 1360.
wryȝtes	carpenters	fyn	ende
were	kepe	þarmys	guttys
mote (curia)	plete	mone	warne
ferly	wndyr	warryng	cursing
cele	godly	mysse	fayle
byrde (decet)	moste	wonde	spare
estre	stoune	dere	harme
yrk	slow	teyl	scorne
mayn	strenkþ	tyne	lese
harnes	brayn	pele	perche
grete	wepte	myrke	derke
whyle	tyme	seynorye	lordshyp
yerne	desyre	rous	proud wordys
rous	boste	aghte	gode
qued	shrewe	hals / swyer	nek
aywhore	ever more	cuntek	debate
wurþ þe	most	hote	vowe
weyve	forsake	ferde	ȝede
gate	wey	raþe	sone
loþe	harme	flytes	chydeþ
he nam	he ȝede	y-dyt	stoppyd
he nam	he toke	syde	long
stounde	tyme	awe	drede
rape	haste	dryghe	suffre
kenne	teche	wlate	steyn

Some of Robert's words, that needed explanation in 1360, are as well known to us in 1877 as those wherewith his transcriber corrected what seemed obsolete. Words will sometimes fall out of written speech, and crop up again long afterwards. Language is full of these odd tricks.[1] It is mournful to trace the gradual

[1] Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ jam sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus.

loss of old words. This cannot be better done than by comparing three English versions of the Eleven Pains of Hell: one of these seems to belong to the year 1260, another to 1340, another to 1420.[1] Each successive loss was of course made good by fresh shoals of French words. Steady indeed was the flow of these into English prose and poetry all through the Fourteenth Century, as may be seen by the following Table. I take from each author a passage (in his usual style) containing fifty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs; and this is the proportion in which the words are employed:—

	Teutonic Words that are now Obsolete.	*Romance Words.*
Old English Poetry, before 1066 . .	25	—
Old English Prose, before 1066 . . .	12	—
Orrmin and Layamon, about 1200 . .	10	—
Ancren Riwle, about 1220	9	—
Genesis and Exodus, Bestiary, about 1230	8	—
Owl and Nightingale, about 1240 . .	7	—
Northern Psalter, about 1250 . . .	6	—
Proverbs of Hending, about 1260 . .	5	—
Love song (page 341), about 1270 . .	4	1
Havelok, Harrowing of Hell, about 1280 .	4	2
Kentish Sermons, about 1290 . .	3	3
Cursor Mundi, about 1290	5	5
Robert of Gloucester, about 1300 . .	3	4
Robert Manning, in 1303	2	6
Shoreham, about 1320	3	3

[1] *Old English Miscellany* (Early English Text Society), pp. 147, 210, 223.

	Teutonic Words that are now Obsolete.	*Romance Words.*
Auchinleck Romances, about 1330	3	4
Hampole, about 1340	3	5
Minot, about 1350	3	6
Piers Ploughman, in 1362	2	7
Chaucer (Pardoner's Tale), in 1390	2	8
Pecock, in 1450	1	10
Tyndale, in 1530	—	12
Defoe, in 1710	—	17
Macaulay, in 1840	—	25
Gibbon (sometimes)	—	44
Morris's Sigurd (sometimes)	—	1

Robert of Brunne, the Patriarch of the New English, fairly well foreshadowed the proportion of outlandish gear that was to be the common rule in our land after his time. He has six French words out of fifty; a little later Mandeville and Chaucer were to have eight French words of fifty; this is the proportion in Shakespere's comic parts; and it is also the proportion in the every-day talk of our own time, as may be seen in the dialogues of Miss Yonge's and Mr. Trollope's works.[1] We English are usually Teutonic enough in our careless off-hand speech; but the instant we prepare any prose to be printed, we scorn to tread our Teutonic mother earth with well assured step, and we hobble along, most of us

[1] Only Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs must be reckoned in these computations. As a general rule, these make up two-fifths of a sentence; the other parts of speech (almost wholly Teutonic) make up the remaining three-fifths.

very awkwardly, upon Latin stilts; Dr. Johnson, not Defoe, then becomes our model. It may be, that the good example set by our poets, and the increasing heed bestowed upon the study of our noble tongue in all its stages, will in future years abate the Johnsonese nuisance;[1] perhaps even our penny-a-liners and our Aldermen may learn good taste[2]. The Teutonic part of our tongue may be likened both to gold and to copper; it is chosen by our poets, the best of all experts, as the noblest vehicle of thought;[3] yet at the same time it is

[1] One clever writer has lately attempted a defence of Dr. Johnson's pompous style, saying that the sage drew distinctions as he drew his breath, and that he could not express these distinctions without couching his diction in Latin-born phrases. The answer is most simple: he drew distinctions with equal subtilty when he was talking, and he expressed them in the homeliest Teutonic. He has had his reward: his *Rambler* lies unread on our book-shelves; his talk, as recorded by Boswell, is perused every year by thousands of delighted students. Any writer of our day, who has a mind to be read a hundred years hence, should lay the lesson to heart.

[2] I was lately much amused by a passage in one of the penny papers; the writer bade 'the gentlemen who are good enough to watch over the purity of the English language' consider, that our Teutonic words are mostly monosyllables, and are therefore very ugly. The British penny-a-liner, it would seem, does a service to the nation when he lugs in some long Latin word to express a simple idea. 'The *minds* of *dull youths* that *think*' is a poor and vulgar sentence to write; the *idiosyncrasies* of *unintelligent adolescents* that *existimate*, is of course a wondrous improvement. Monosyllables are no disadvantage; with them Shakespere and Milton produce most noble effects. The obnoxious words swarm in our version of Isaiah, perhaps the grandest pattern of English prose that we have.

[3] I have in my mind Mr. Swinburne's 'Erechtheus' and Mr. Morris's 'Sigurd the Volsung.' These poems, in purity of diction, seem to go back six hundred years at least.

always being passed from hand to hand, as, it were, by seventy millions of our kin in their every-day speech. These ideas I hope to draw out still further in a future work.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXAMPLES OF ENGLISH.

I.

RUNES ON THE RUTHWELL CROSS, OF ABOUT THE YEAR 680.[1]

(On-) geredæ hinæ	Girded him
God almeyottig	God almighty
þa he walde	when he would
on galgu gi-stiga	on gallows mount
modig fore	proud for
(ale) men	all men
. . . . .	. . . . .
(ahof) ic riicnæ cuningc	I heaved the rich king
heafunæs hlafard	heaven's lord
hælda ic (n)i darstæ	heel (over) I durst not
bismærædu ungcet men ba ætgad(r)e	men mocked us both together
ic (wæs) miþ blodæ bistemid	I was with blood besmeared
. . . . .	. . . . .
Krist wæs on rodi	Christ was on rood
hweþræ þer fusæ	but there hurriedly
fearran kwomu	From afar they came
æþþilæ ti lanum	the Prince to aid
ic þæt al bi(h)eal(d)	I beheld all that
s(are) ic wæs	sore I was
mi(þ) sorgu(m) gi(d)ræ(fe)d	with sorrows harrowed
. . . . .	. . . . .
miþ strelum giwundæd	with arrows wounded
alegdun hiæ hinæ limwærignæ	they laid him down limb-weary
gistoddun him (æt) h(is l)i-cæs (h)eaf(du)m	they stood at his corpse's head

[1] Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, I. 405.

II.

MANUSCRIPT OF THE YEAR 737, CONTAINING LINES BY CADMON.[1]

Nu scylun hergan	Now must we praise
hefaen ricaes uard	heaven kingdom's Warden
metudæs mæcti	the Creator's might
end his mod gidanc	and his mind's thought
uerc uuldur fadur	glorious Father of men
sue he uundra gihuaes	as he of each wonder
eci drictin	eternal Lord
or astelidæ	formed the beginning
He ærist scop	He erst shaped
elda barnum	for earth's bairns
heben til hrofe	heaven as a roof
haleg scepen	holy Shaper
tha middun geard	then mid-earth
mon cynnæs uard	mankind's Warden
eci dryctin	eternal Lord
æfter tiadæ	afterwards produced
firum foldu	for men the earth
frea allmectig.	Lord Almighty.

[1] Bosworth, *Origin of the Germanic Languages*, p. 57.

III.

The Eighth Psalm, from the Northumbrian Psalter, Compiled about the Year 850.

Dryht', dryht' ur, hu wundurlic is noma ðin in alre eorðan,

for-ðon up-ahefen is micelnis ðin ofer heofenas, of muðe cilda and milc-deondra ðu ge-fremedes lof.

fore feondum ðinum, ðæt ðu to-weorpe feond and ge-scildend.

for-ðon ic ge-sie heofenas werc fingra ðinra, monan and steorran ða ðu ge-steaðulades.

hwet is mon ðæt ge-myndig ðu sie his, oððe sunu monnes for-ðon ðu heosas hine?

ðu ge-wonedes hine hwoene laessan from englum, mid wuldre and mid are ðu ge-begades hine, and ge-settes hine ofer werc honda ðinra:

all ðu under-deodes under fotum his, scep and oxan all ec ðon and netenu feldes,

fuglas heofenes and fiscas saes, ða geond-gað stige saes:

Dryht', dryht' ur, hu wundurlic is noma ðin in alre eorðan.

IV.

THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, A.D. 950.

PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS.—St. Matthew xxv.

1. Đonne gelic bið ric heofna tewm hehstaldun, ða onfengon leht-fato heora ge-eodun ongeæn ðæm brydguma and ðær bryde. 2. fifo uutetlice of ðæm weron idlo and fifo hogofæste. 3. ah fifo idlo gefengon leht-fato ne genomun oele mið him. 4. hogofæste uutetlice onfengon oele in fetelsum hiora mið leht-fatum. 5. suigo uutetlice dyde ðe brydgum geslepedon alle and geslepdon. 6. middum uutetlice næht lydeng geworden wæs: heonu brydguma cwom, gæs ongæn him. 7. ða arioson alle hehstalde ða ilco, and gehrindon leht-fato hiora. 8. idlo uutetlice ðam snotrum cuoedon: seles us of ole iuerre, forðan leht-fato usræ gedrysned biðon. 9. geonduordon hogo cuoeðendo: eaðe mæg ne noh is us and iuh, gaas gewelgad to ðæm bibycendum and bygeð iuh. 10. miððy uutetlice geeoden to bycganne, cuom ðe brydguma and ða ðe . . . weron innfoerdon mið him to brydloppum and getyned wæs ðe dura. 11. hlætmesto cwomon and ða oðro hehstaldo cueðendo: drihten, drihten, untyn us. 12. soð he onduearde cueð: soðlice ic cuoeðo iuh, nat ic iuih. 13. wæccas forðon, forðon nuuto gie ðone dæge ne þone tid.

V.

The Rushworth Gospels, A.D. 1000.

St. Matthew, Chap. ii.

1. þa soþlice akenned wæs Hælend Iudeana in dagum Erodes þæs kyninges, henu tungul-kræftgu eastan quomon in Hierosolimam, 2. cweþende, hwær is seþe akenned is kining Iudeana? we gesegon soþlice steorra his in east-dæle and cuomon to gebiddenne to him. 3. þæt þa geherde, soþlice Herodes king wæs gedroefed in mode and ealle Hierosolima mid hine. 4. . . . ealle aldur-sacerdos, bokeras þæs folkes, ahsade heom hwær Krist wære akenned. 5. hiæ þa cwædon, in Bethlem Iudeana, swa soþlice awriten þurh witgu, cwæþende. 6. . . . . nænigþinga læs-æst eart aldur-monnum Iuda, of þe soþlice gæþ latteuw seþe ræccet Israhæl. 7. Herodes dernunga acægde tungul-kræftgum and georne geliornade æt þa tid þæs æteawde him steorra. 8. sondende heom to Bethlem cwæþ, gæþ ahsiað georne bi þem cnæhte þanne ge gemoeteþ hine sæcgað eft, þæt ic swilce cymende gebidde to him. 9. þa hie þa . . . . ðæs kyninges word eodun þonan, henu þe steorra þe hiæ ær gesægon east-dæle fore-eade hiæ oþþæt he cumende bufan ðær se cneht . . . . 10. hie geseænde soþlice steorran gefegon gefea miccle swiþe. 11. ingangende þæt hus gemoetton þone cneht mid . . . forþfallende gebedun to him . . . ontynden heora gold-hord brohtun lac recils murra. 12. andsuari onfengon slepe, hiæ ne cerdun . . . þurh wege gewendun to heora londe.

VI.

(About A.D. 1090.)

The Finding of St. Edmund's Head.[1]

Hwæt þa, ðe flot-here ferde þa eft to scipe, and
What then fleet-armament fared then again ship
behyddon þæt heafod þæs halgan Eadmundes on þam
hid the head holy
ðiccum bremlum, þæt hit biburiged ne wurde. Þa
thick brambles buried should not be.
æfter fyrste, syððan heo ifarene wæron, com þæt lond-
a time after they gone
folc tó, þe þær to lafe þa wǽs, þær heoræ lafordes lić
left their lord's corpse
buton heafde þa læg, and wurdon swiðe sarig for his
without head lay were right sorry
slægie on mode, and hure þæt heo næfdon þæt heafod to
slaughter mind moreover had not
þam bodige. Þa sæde ðe sceawere, þe hit ær iseah, þæt
beholder erst saw
þa flot-men hæfdon þæt heafod mid heom, and wæs him
with them to him it
iþuht, swa swa hit wæs ful soð, þæt heo hydden þæt
seemed as true
heofod on þam holte. For-hwæga heo eoden þa endemes
However went at last
alle to þam wude, sæcende gehwær, geond þyfelas and
everywhere through shrubs
brymelas, gif heo mihten imeten þæt heafod. Wæs eac
if meet eke
mycel wunder þæt an wulf wæs isend, þurh Godes

[1] Thorpe's *Analecta*, p. 87. He thinks that this is East Anglian. Here we see the Anglian diphthong æ at the end of words, just as on the Ruthwell Cross, four hundred years earlier.

willunge, to biwærigenne þæt heafod, wið þa oðre deór,
guard *against* *beasts*
ofer dæg and niht. Heo eoden ða sæcende, and
day
cleopigende, swa swa hit iwunelic is þæt ða þe on wude
calling *customary* *those that*
gaþ oft: 'Hwær eart þu nu gerefa?' And him and-
go *governor*
swyrde þæt heafod: 'Her, her, her.' And swa ilome
so *often*
clypode andswarigende, oððet heo alle bicomen, þurh
until *came*
þa clypunge, him tó. Þa læg þe grægæ wulf þe bewiste
gray *guarded*
þæt heafod, ant mid his twam fotum hæfde þæt heafod
two *feet*
biclypped, gredig and hungrig, and for Gode ne dyrste
clasped
þæs hæfdes onburigen, ac heold hit wið deor. Ða
taste *but* *held*
wurdon heo ofwundroden þæs wulfes hordrædene, and
became *amazed at* *guardianship*
þæt halige heafod hám feroden mid heom, þankende
home *carried*
þam Almihtigan alre his wundræ. Ac þe wulf fologede
for all
forð mid þam heafde, oððet heo on túne comen, swylce
town *as if*
he tome wære, and wende æft syððan to wude ongean.
tame *again*
Ða lond-leodan þa syððan lægdan þæt heafod to þam
land-folk
halige bodige, and burigdon, swa swa heo lihtlucost
easiest
mihten on swylce rædinge, and cyrce arærdon onuppon
such *haste* *a kirk* *reared*
him.

VII.

(A.D. 1220.)

ANCREN RIWLE (Camden Society), 388.[1]

A lefdi was þet was mid hire voan biset al abuten,
lady *foes*
and hire lond al destrued, and heo al poure, wiðinnen
she *poor*
one eorðene castle. On mihti kinges luve was þauh bi-
an *earthen* *A* *however*
turnd upon hire, so unimete swuðe þet he vor wouh-
boundless *very* *wooing*
lecchunge sende hire his sonden, on efter oðer, and ofte
messengers, one
somed monie: and sende hire beaubelet boðe veole and
at once *jewels* *many*
feire, and sukurs of liveneð, and help of his heie hird to
supplies *victuals* *army*
holden hire castel. Heo underveng al ase on unrec-
received *careless*
heleas þing þet was so herd iheorted þet hire luve ne
hard-hearted
mihte he never beon þe neorre. Hwat wult tu more?
nearer
He com himsulf a last, and scheawede hire his feire
at
neb, ase þe þet was of alle men veirest to biholden, and
face *one*
spec swuðe sweteliche and so murie wordes þet heo
spake *pleasant* *they*
muhten þe deade arearen vrom deaðe to live. And
might

[1] This is the only passage, of all the specimens in this Chapter, that was not written in the Anglian country, or that did not feel the Anglian influence. French words begin to come in.

wrouhte veole wundres, and dude veole meistries bivo-
did *great works*
ren hire eihsihðe, and scheawede hire his mihten: tolde
hire of his kinedome, and bead for to makien hire cwene
offered
of al þet he ouhte. Al þis ne help nout. Nes þis
owned *helped nought: Was not this*
wunderlich hoker? Vor heo nes never wurðe vorte
disdain *to*
beon his schelchine. Auh so, þuruh his debonerté, luve
scullion *But*
hefde overkumen hine þet he seide on ende, 'Dame, þu
had *him* *at last*
ert iweorred, and þine von beoð so stronge þet tu ne
assailed *foes*
meiht nonesweis, wiðuten sukurs af me, etfleon hore
in no way *escape their*
honden, þet heo ne don þe to scheomefule deað. Ich
they
chulle vor þe luve of þe nimen þis fiht upon me, and
shall *take*
aredden þe of ham þat schecheð þine deað. Ich wot
rid *them*
þauh for soðe þet ich schal bitweonen ham undervongen
must
deaðes wunde, and ich hit wulle heorteliche vorto ofgon
win
þine heorte. Nu, þeonne, biseche ich þe, vor þe luve þet
then
ich kuðe þe, þet tu luvie me, hure and hure, efter þen
show *at least*
ilke dead deaðe, hwon þu noldes liveð. Þes king dude
same *since* *wouldst not in my life*
al þus, aredde hire of alle hire von, and was himsulf to
wundre ituked, and isleien on ende. Þuruh miracle
injured *slain*

þauh he āros from deaðe to live. Nere þeos ilke lefdi of
Would not be
vuele kunnes kunde, ȝif heo over alle þing ne luve him
evil nature sprung
her efter?

Þes king is Jesu Crist, Godes sune, þet al o þisse wise wowude ure soule, þet þe deoflen heveden biset. And
wooed our devils
he, ase noble woware, efter monie messagers, and feole
many
god deden, com vorto preoven his luve, and scheawede
prove
þuruh knihtschipe þet he was luve-wurðe, ase weren
worthy
sumewhule knihtes iwuned for to donne. He dude him
sometimes wont do
ine turnement, and hefde vor his leofmonnes luve his
lady's
schelde ine vihte, ase kene kniht, on everiche half
side
i-þurled. Þis scheld þet wreih his Godhed was his leove
pierced covered dear
licome þet was ispred o rode, brode ase scheld buven in
body above
his i-streiht earmes, and neruh bineoðen, ase þe on vot,
stretched narrow one foot
efter þet me weneð, sete upon þe oðer vote. . . . Efter
according to supposition
kene knihtes deaðe me hongeð heie ine chirche his
men hang
schelde on his munegunge. Al so is þis scheld, þet is,
remembrance
þet crucifix iset ine chirche, ine swuche stude þet me hit
such place
sonest iseo, vorto þenchen þerbi o Jesu Cristes kniht-
may see
schipe þet he dude o rode.

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[English words and letters are here inserted in their most modern shape; thus, *which* must be looked out, in order to find *hwylc*. Following this plan, I set down that *a* replaces *æ*, not that *æ* changes into *a*.]

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